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Globalization and the Reconciliation of Dissonant Hybrid Identities: A Case Study of Canadian-Arab Youths

by

Jenny Wannas-Jones

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in International/Intercultural Education

Department of Educational Policy Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

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University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **Globalization and the Reconciliation of Dissonant Hybrid Identities: A Case Study of Canadian-Arab Youths** submitted by Jenny Wannas-Jones in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International/Intercultural Education.

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Abstract

Globalization and the Reconciliation of Dissonant Hybrid Identities explores the way Canadian-Arab youths make sense of the multiple cultural systems they are exposed to. It also identifies the processes of individual agency whereby youths reconcile dissonant experiences in the self-formation of identity. The thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the impact of local, national, and global influences on youths and weaves in other factors such as familial, ethno-religious, educational, and mass media influences. Because of the rise of global technologies, such as satellite and internet capabilities, the thesis argues that identity reformation of Canadian-Arab immigrant populations is qualitatively different than previous generations. Global media perspectives (namely CNN and Arab television such as the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC)) open up a range of social relations and political ideologies and offer a series of new opportunities for youths to accommodate the conflicting socialization imperatives. As a case in point, the research focuses on media representations of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the 1991/1998 Gulf Wars and on how youths interpreted events and incorporated their significance. The thesis deconstructs the notion of a unified Canadian-Arab identity, illustrates how the youths' reconfigure their various senses of self, and concludes that identity develops as a product of not only family, peers, ethno-religious and formal education but also changes in national policies, such as Canada's multiculturalism policies, and ongoing global conflicts, such as contemporary responses to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in New York and Washington. The thesis concludes with policy suggestions for educators, policy makers, Arab communities, and for the multiplicity of alternative publics interested in the politics of cultural recognition.

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Preface

My intentions to write this thesis date back to 1995 when I returned to Alberta from my eight year stay in Egypt. My years there helped me to understand that the images and information in Canada that I had been exposed to regarding the Arab cultures was sorely lacking. Learning about Egypt's position from an Arab perspective helped me understand that what I had witnessed in the media as a child was never contextualized within the complex history of the region. For example, while Egypt was considered by Arabs as the vanguard of Arab nationalism (in the 1950s and 60s) and as a promoter of independence to other Arab countries which were still under colonialism such as Algeria, and Libya it quickly became perceived as a traitor. Egypt's peace treaty with Israel in 1973 led to the increasing popularity and proliferation of Islamist movements. Ironically, however in countries like Canada and the US, the peace treaty led to the brief but positive image of Arabs. This is only one example of numerous examples, that illustrate how opposing lived experiences and narratives have contributed to the current drive to bring about a clash of civilizations. The tragic events of September 11, 2001, which occurred during the research phase of this study, only seemed to exacerbate this process further. To me, therefore, the most important factor to prioritize in my cross-cultural and intercultural work was to emphasize the notion that the common humanity perspective was lacking in the Arab conceptualization of the West (US, Canada, Western Europe) and the Western perspective on the Arabs. This thesis is therefore an exploration into the lived experiences of Canadian-Arab youths and illustrates how the educational system as it now stands, unfortunately seems ill-equipped to effectively encounter the stereotypes and disinformation students receive from family, friends, and the media.

Numerous scholars within the field of psychology and critical education have pointed to the important notion of identity. Identity is considered central not only in how we identify ourselves but how we relate to others. In this thesis I have attempted to deconstruct Canadian-Arab youth's identities by examining their individual relationships, experiences, and backgrounds and to their understandings or lack of, on the global environment as it relates to the Middle East. The thesis demonstrates how Canadian-Arab youths are a strong part of Canada's social fabric and are proud to be Canadians. On the other hand, their responses clearly show how they are still victims of institutionalized discrimination and denigration which are exacerbated during times of conflict in the Middle East. The thesis also illustrates the intra-disaporic dissonance amongst Canadian-Arabs as experienced according to youths' religion (Christian or Muslim) and degree of religiosity.

Because the issue of identity is one which ultimately deals with lived experience, I will describe my identity and background. Husserl (1962) defines this process of positioning the researcher as "bracketing" or the uncovering, defining, and analyzing of a phenomenon undergoing study, during which, the researcher's preconceptions and literature-based knowledge are set aside. This bracketing process will be used to clarify my position in the study in order to more clearly bring out the voices of the youth participants.

I was born in Lancaster, England to Coptic Egyptian parents who immigrated to Canada in the early seventies. As a child I attended evangelical and Catholic schools (Grade 1 – 6) in Sherwood Park, Alberta. As one of the only visible minorities in these schools, fellow classmates and teachers regularly inquired as to my ethnic origins. For me, such questions always proved to be a source of cultural dissonance as I could not identify with my parents'

cultural background. I had never lived in Egypt nor had I been exposed to the way of life in the region but because I was visibly different, I had to devise a means of explaining this difference. In order to effectively handle the dissonance I experienced on the question of identity, I would assert to friends, classmates, and teachers that my parents were from Egypt but I had *never* been there. Although I was not ashamed of my cultural background, I found it difficult to relate to. Moreover, since the little that most knew about Egypt and, Arab culture come firstly from Hollywood images of the desert, oil sheiks and harems and secondly, from news information portraying Arabs as terrorists and hijackers, I knew people did not think too highly of Arab culture. Needless to say, this did not leave very much of an incentive for me to explore my Coptic background further. Instead, I tried to distance myself from my ethnic heritage in favour of fully assimilating or being like everyone else.

In 1986, my parents decided to return to settle in Egypt and we were enrolled in private Catholic based and later British schools. In order to familiarize us with our "roots," we made frequent trips to visit the Coptic monasteries and ancient churches in Egypt. As Coptic Christians, my parents were very proud of the rich history of the Coptic Church, "the oldest church in the world," they would often boast. After some time in Egypt, I was slowly beginning to understand the significance of the ancient history of the Coptic Churches. Seeing so many tourists from around the world flock to Egypt to visit these ancient Coptic sites led me for the first time in my life to feel proud of my Coptic identity. The Coptic–Islamic tensions were not quite evident to me because of the nature of the schools and later University in which I was enrolled. For many Copts however, the feeling of daily discrimination and oppression was very real. For the most part, my personal relationships with Muslim friends remained untouched by such tensions.

In all, my mother, siblings, and I lived in Egypt for a total of eight years 1986 – 1995, while my father worked in Canada during this time. I began working on my B.A. in Psychology at the American University in Cairo in 1990 prior to start of the first Gulf War. The anger of Islamist groups has a long history of which I did not know at the time but which I became witness to on a regular basis. During my University years 1990 - 1995, groups like the Muslim Brotherhood were gaining much influence due to increasing urbanization, poverty and Americanization influence. Consequently, it was not uncommon for bombs to explode at government, and tourist hot spots. Because the American University in Cairo is situated in downtown Cairo, it was in close proximity to many of the main government buildings and because it is a symbol of America it was a potential and valid bombing target. America was and still is seen as the new colonial power in the region. I recall one occasion where my friends and I were sitting in a Pizza Hut, down the street from the University when we heard something which vibrated the walls and windows. We later found out a bomb exploded at a nearby coffee shop and several people died. This event and many more like them, made me feel cheated by the media information I had access to my whole life. For decades I did not hear anything from any mainstream media which contextualized this evident anger or the history of the region to help me understand what I was seeing.

The role of the media as a filter of very critical information and history became clearer during the 1991 Gulf War. When the war broke our, Egyptians, as with other populations across the Arab world, were able to access live coverage of the war via CNN which was being provided free of charge for the duration of the war. I recall how surreal it seemed that we were provided free American news coverage to see a nearby country get bombed. Even though Egypt was an ally of the US during the war, there were huge protests in the streets of Cairo as well as a mass influx of Kuwaitis and Egyptians feeling Kuwait to an already overpopulated and over-polluted city. These consequences of the 1991 Gulf War on the Egyptian streets, seemed to go completely undocumented on CNN. The live

coverage of the glitz of the war took precedence over an accurate documentation of the events and their consequences on neighbouring countries. The inter-connectedness of the world or this notion of "globalization" began to become glaringly apparent. Satellite television programming became popular in the early nineties and my family and I had access to television networks such as ABC as well as European MTV. Today, scores of ordinary Egyptians and Arabs across the region, and indeed worldwide, are able to access live and uncensored coverage of ongoing events in neighbouring countries such as Iraq and Palestine from an Arab perspective.

In 1996, I was accepted to the Master's program at the Department of Educational Psychology (University of Alberta). I had already begun reading about the Canadian-Arab community and its history. Through work with my father, I began to meet various individuals from the local community. I had made several trips to private Islamic schools and was surprised to note that many female students, who had lived in Canada their entire lives, wore *hijab* (headscarf) to the public school. This provided me with a strong impetus to explore how these young females experienced the Canadian public school system given the negative impression many hold of Arabs and Muslims. Did these girls not experience dissonance within the school system? How did they identify themselves and their beliefs to others? I wanted to uncover the resilience of these Canadian-Arab females. Shortly thereafter, I began work with Professor Earle Waugh from the University of Alberta Comparative Literature, Language, and Religious Studies and began a more in-depth analysis of issues of Islam and gender among Muslim women. I soon learned that the local Islamic community was very conservative in comparison to the majority of friends I had known in Egypt. I hypothesized this to be related to the overcompensation factor, whereby individuals who feel they may loose their culture or religion become even more religious than they necessarily would under normal circumstances. In this study I have extended my focus to examining the dissonant hybrid identities of Canadian-Arab youths of Eastern Orthodox religious traditions whose experiences further illustrate the diversity within the Canadian-Arab community.

The majority of youth in this study come from a more developed ethno-religious community base than I had been exposed to growing up in Canada. In addition to religious establishments, there are also a variety of community services and organizations that Canadian-Arab parents and newcomers can turn to. These Canadian-Arab youth, like many others across Canada and the US, also have access to global communications which bring them religious, cultural, and political values directly from the parents' country of origin. This allows youths to access the values that parents attempt to transmit while also providing them the opportunity to selectively choose the cultural, political, and religious values they embrace. Moreover most of the youths in the study have never lived within the Arab world for an extended period of time such as the case was with me. Indeed, Canadian-Arab parents' responses illustrate that they no longer hold idealized memories of their countries of origin. Instead, Americanization has seemingly exerted much influence on the traditional cultural values and norms leaving parents with the belief that a permanent non-interrupted life in Canada is more likely. Consequently, whereas parents in past generations had left to the countries of origin to inculcate their children with religious and cultural values, parents today no longer find such a move necessary or even fruitful. Moreover, the Canadian-Arab population has increased in size. This has increasingly meant that ethnic enclaves of Canadian-Arabs exist which also makes such recent trends in the Canadian-Arab community worthy of further investigation. These combined factors make the youths in this study quite distinct from previous generations of Canadian-Arab immigrants.

The importance of including media in this study became increasingly clear in September 2000 during the proposal writing for this thesis. Ariel Sharon's visit to the Aqsa mosque and the consequent violence which erupted shortly thereafter went virtually undocumented in Canadian and American mainstream media sources. My mother, who had satellite mentioned the events to me and I later looked for more details on an internet search. I was shocked to learn that such an important event was not made mention of. As mentioned, my interest in the region stems from living in Egypt therefore being able to identify with the importance of ongoing events there. By contrast, the experiences of the majority of Muslim youth participants illustrate that they were very aware of these events and the significance of them illustrating how globalization has played a large role in bringing events in the region home to Canadian-Arab families. What is interesting to note, is that the overwhelming majority of Christians in this study did not share the same level of interest because their interpersonal relationships and identities are not in consonance with keeping up to date with ongoing events in the region. The notion that individuals select information, friends, community activities, and hobbies in consonance with the way they identify themselves is therefore critical to come to an understanding of how people choose to identify themselves in a rapidly changing global era in which information overloads are the standard. Hence what is the effect of various ethnic groups reading news or media in contrast to the mainstream commonsense in the dominant culture? In multicultural nations like Canada it becomes increasingly important for policy makers to pay more attention to the damaging effects of leaving intercultural tensions run un-checked.

In conclusion it is hoped that this thesis will aid in counterbalancing the consistent denigration of Canadian-Arabs in media, education, and society. Since the tragic events of September 11, 2001, I was deeply concerned of the effects the post-911 environment would have on my work. Most of my participants, however, continued to show greater interest to elaborate on the damaging effects of the media on intercultural understanding in education and society. I am thankful that I was fortunate to have articulate, intelligent and passionate youths who provided me with the powerful narratives that this thesis puts forth. It is my hope that this thesis brings the power of their voices through so others may learn.

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Part I

Literature Review
History and Method

Introduction

Research Question: How do Canadian Arab youths reconcile the opposing socio-cultural values of traditional Arab and secular Western cultures?

This research explores the process of Canadian-Arab youth identity formation in light of the socialization forces of the home, the school, and globalized mass media. It is situated within the larger debate concerning the contemporary state of Canada's multicultural and immigration policies and their effects on education and society. Towards the late 1960s, Canada's professional and labour market found itself in dire need of a larger working force. This impacted upon immigration policy, allowing for the increasing numbers of immigrants arriving in Canada from developing nations in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Most of these new Canadians were highly educated professionals, mainly males whose attitude towards assimilation into Canadian society was either neutral or positive. By 1971, the Canadian federal government outlined its multiculturalism policy - under the guidance of Prime Minister Elliott Trudeau - as the official federal response to the resulting demographic changes in Canadian society. While the policy became an official Act in 1988, policy makers within the field of education are still debating about how to effectively educate students in ethnically and religiously diverse classrooms. During the late 1980s, educational policy makers attempted to develop culturally sensitive materials for schools and provide classroom teachers with effective pedagogies to encounter ethnic diversity. Yet according to educational theorists, such attempts have had limitations. First, they argue that schools have a "hidden curriculum" that covertly socializes and streams working class, minority, and female students into educational levels which constrain their future occupational opportunities within the workforce. Second, any enhancement of divergent values tends to undermine social cohesion, and public schools have had to rethink the difficult task of dealing with increased cultural conflict to maintain social harmony. This study enters the above debate about economic selection, cultural diversification, and gender socialization by focusing on Canadian-Arab youth and by exploring the effects of the school, home, and mass media on their identity formation in one specific case in The City.

Significance of the Study

Although the Canadian-Arab community has been part of Canada's social fabric since the late 1800s, the adaptation process for both Canadian-Arab parents and their children remains a complex one. For many Canadian-Arab youth, this process is exacerbated by both the lack of exposure to socialization forces present in Arab countries and the omnipresence of Canadian secular societal values that run contrary to traditional Arab socio-cultural ones. Additionally, current research demonstrates that international conflict within the Middle East is related to widespread anti-Arab sentiment in Canada (Canadian Arab Federation, 2002; Kashmieri, 1991). In turn, this sentiment permeates school boundaries, and affecting both teacher and student relations. While the dominant society still pushes for assimilation within the "multicultural" model, many Canadian-Arab parents still criticize its "secular" education opting for variations of "isolationism." Consequently, many Canadian-Arab parents wishing to protect their children from secular influences and reinforce Arab socio-cultural values send their children to private educational institutions to preserve ethnic and religious identity. The latter does not suffice for many Canadian-Arab parents who have traditionally opted for more extreme measures for their daughters - such as returning to the

country of origin - usually during adolescence. This strategy is especially important for preserving Arab cultural values such as forbidding premarital sex and maintaining virginity. In spite of this value-conflict, research also shows that Canadian-Arab students still consider themselves more Arab than Canadian despite negative portrayals in the media and that this identification holds true more so for Canadian-Arab males than females. The findings of this study suggest new trends such as enhanced community organizations and services in addition to the Americanization of Arab culture due to globalization have seemingly slowed down the move to the country of origin.

The contemporary state of public education has allowed for the increasing support of right-wing policies. It suggests an urgent need for Canadian policy makers to re-evaluate policies which may indirectly serve to exacerbate various forms of patriarchy and/or oppression in addition to marginalizing increasing numbers of working-class, ethnic minority, and female students. For example, during the proposal phases of this research, Canada's 2001 national campaign for federal election Conservative Alliance party leader, Stockwell Day, announced his support of publicly funding private religious educational establishments. Such reforms are potentially detrimental to universal public schooling since they do not allow educators within the public system to effectively prepare students of all backgrounds to interact with one another to effectively encounter racism and alternative cultural experiences present in Canadian society. Such proposals also encourage the deterioration of the current public educational system as educators become increasingly dependent upon private religious educational establishments as alternative establishments to "deal with" students from disparate ethnic backgrounds. This research examines the "lived experiences" of Canadian-Arab students and yields valuable information for educational policy-makers, educators, and Canadian-Arab communities regarding the aforementioned issues.

Expected Contributions

The study is important for three main reasons. First, since the late 1970s, Canada has witnessed an increase in immigration from Africa, Latin America, and Asia - specifically from the Middle East - and increased demand for education that corresponds to the expectations of approximately one million Arabs now living in Canada, 35,000 of whom live in The Province in which this study occurred. According to the Canadian Arab Federation (2002) study, beside the work place, the second ranked place of institutionalized racism according to Canadian-Arabs is within the educational system. Second, the socio-cultural and political divide between Canadian-Arabs and Canadian society is widening. This is especially true since the events of September 11, 2001 and the "New War on Terror" in which increasing demonization of Arabs and the Islamic religion in much of Canadian mainstream media and newspapers seems more apparent. This has exacerbated negative stereotypes and increased racism directed at Canadian-Arabs. Third, the consequences of globalization have provided the Canadian-Arab community with the opportunity to select alternative sources of media involving events and/or crises occurring within the Middle East from an Arab perspective. These media links have aided the development of a variety of "neo-religious fundamentalist" ideologies among both Christian and Muslim Canadian-Arab families. Globalization has also led to the Americanization of many traditional Arab cultural values, specifically in the urban Middle East leading many Canadian-Arabs to prefer to stay permanently in Canada and enhance their community organizations as opposed to living within their country of origin even if only for a short period.

While researchers in this field concur that an "isolationist trend" appears to be emerging among the Arab community in Canada, there has been little documentation on this "socialization to isolationism" process among Canadian-Arab youth. Related research conducted by B. Abu-Laban, and S. Abu-Laban, (1999) demonstrates that although there is an apparent isolationist trend in the community, their findings do not support this trend among Canadian-Arab youth since the study was restricted to economically affluent families. For this reason, they argue that the process of "socialization to isolationism" among youth requires additional research. Furthermore, no studies exist which link school socialization to international ongoing events concerning the region, and global mass media's interpretation of such events. This study examines these factors and their influence on the social construction of youths' ethnic, religious, and gender identities. As well as describing the reproduction of traditional cultural identities, this study examines the emergence of new hybrid identities resulting from this particular social-cultural matrix. By analyzing the above-mentioned factors, on the individual, social, national and global levels the study yields valuable information for educational policy makers and educators.

Finally, the Canadian-Arab community will also benefit from the study as it will not only provide them with the opportunity to "voice" their concerns but also to raise awareness among them about the federal and provincial policies regulating Canadian educational systems. By understanding such policies in-depth, the Canadian-Arab community may be able to integrate more successfully into Canadian culture or may assist in developing more effective policies.

Hybrid Identity Formation

In order to answer the main research question, data collection focused on how youth identify or represent themselves. For example, among some of the first questions asked was regarding identity representation when meeting someone for the first time. The first interview set also included questions regarding youth identity and experiences in their social interactions with immediate family and friends at school or university, and their individual level of interaction with their parents' ethno-religious or cultural communities. Participant responses revealed important information regarding cognitive dissonance experienced within one or several of these circles. Responses to these questions provided information specific to identity questions at the individual and social levels of analysis. These responses illustrate how family upbringing and/or educational experiences influence identity formation and how youths then selectively prioritize the individuals or groups they identify with. These findings therefore provide important and valuable information on the resolution of dissonant identity issues. This individual level of analysis revealed the key role of the family in raising children with pride regarding their ethnic or religious identities. With regards to youths' social interactions, the study attempted to contextualize individual experiences with identity in the immediate family, their social groups, and especially peers.

In order to understand the way in which multicultural policy has influenced the nature of Canadian society and education and, in turn, the way in which Canadian education and society influence youth identity, participants were also asked to describe their feelings regarding multicultural education and policy. The national level of identity analysis described in Chapter Seven is analyzed using Gramscian theory and reveals how state-imposed categories of identity must be consented to by Canadian-Arab youths and their communities as commonsensical.

The state level analysis of identity is critically important because it is necessary to have a coherent understanding of the challenges government officials may encounter in attempting to resolve ethnic minority claims without threatening the majority culture. The perception that "too much" has already been done for immigrants has put the state in precarious positions in France, Germany, Britain, and Austria during 2001 in which majority cultural concerns have led to the increasing popularity of right wing leaders who call for a curb in immigrants arriving in these countries, (Mason, 2002). Such trends make state level identity analysis important since the majority cultural group in Canada may feel threatened by the state offering what may be perceived as too many concessions for ethnic minorities. It is not simply enough, therefore, to argue that it is necessary to transform multicultural policy because such transformation may lead to increased ethnic tensions and even conflict from a cultural backlash. Rather, such a transformation must take into consideration the implications of such transformed policies for the dominant ethnic group and for the relationship between the dominant and minority cultures. Hence any proposal regarding the transformation of Canadian multicultural policies must consider the effects of such transformation on both minority cultures *and* the majority in order to maintain national peace and stability.

Education in this context is defined as the formal educational process by which students attain their high school diplomas or University degrees to enter the workforce. The process of education is political in the sense that the power dynamics within society are reinforced within the educational system. While formal education defined as the attainment of knowledge and skills via the public or private school systems, non-formal education is defined as the cultural capital or the knowledge and skills one attains from culture, family, friends, and/or ethno-religious community. Because the youth in this study have encountered two cultural value systems the individual and social levels of analysis examine both formal and non-formal educational aspects and their impact on identity formation on the individual and social levels of analysis.

While most youths in the study perceived multiculturalism in Canadian education and society as assimilationist they realized the pressures placed on educators in ethnically diverse schools in attempting to maintain ethnic harmony. Despite this realization, however, most Canadian-Arab youth participants described how teachers and administrators would prefer to ignore ethnic tensions within the schools than to confront or try and resolve them. This perception concerned the highest levels within the educational system (i.e. among administrators, principals, and even school boards).

For the youths in this study, (all of whom have experienced the Canadian educational system) there seemed to be a widely held perception that educators, educational and government policy makers are simply not doing enough to promote inter-ethnic understanding. Rather, most youths thought that the lack of understanding within the educational system of minority cultures and/or religions corresponded to the lack of understanding within society. This point was revealed in youth participants' responses highlighting the existence of cultural cliques within the school and the corresponding societal enclaves in Canadian society in The City. All youths stated that their knowledge about various religions, ethnicities, and general knowledge regarding world history or events would come from friends or through knowledge acquired outside the educational system. A few participants who studied in other ethnically diverse nations compared their education in other countries to Canadian multicultural education and deemed the latter as oversimplified and superficial.

Most of the youth participants attributed the resulting ethnic tensions and negative sentiments directed towards Canadian-Arab students during times of international or Middle East conflict to the lack of a deeper societal understanding of the diverse cultures and religions in Canada. Youths by and large were of the view that the educational system should be responsible for teaching students about international conflict from an objective perspective, yet their experiences showed that the perception of the Middle East mimicked much of mainstream media disinformation.

According to the study's findings, youth participants felt that such exclusionary practices could be avoided through greater societal and educational awareness of the Middle East in general. Many youths felt that the way in which the Middle East was covered in Social Studies 30 curriculum for example, was inaccurate and in fact detrimental to the state of ethnic relations between Arab and non-Arab Canadians since it is taken as an educational fact by most students and therefore any alternative representation of the Middle East from an Arab perspective by non-Arab youths and adults is dismissed. Such a view suggests the need for education to promote ethnic tolerance and understanding of the interrelated nature of our rapidly changing global world as most youths graduate from high school with very little understanding of the diversity in their own country not to mention a view of international conditions.

For the purposes of this thesis, the term globalization is defined as the vast changes in the world's political, technological, cultural, and economic spheres which are themselves highly influenced by developments in systems of communication. Giddens describes the advent of satellite communications first launched in 1969 as a core hallmark of globalization (Giddens, 2001). Instantaneous communication has accelerated over the past few decades allowing for spontaneous interactions from one corner of the globe to the other. Giddens notes, therefore, how it is wrong to perceive globalization as solely centering on the world's financial order. Rather he emphasizes the intersection between the "out there" or the remote and distant with the "in here" or the intimate and personal aspects of our lives and examines the role of mass communications as central in this regard. Giddens notes how the Americanization process is part and parcel of the globalization process. The United States is therefore the vanguard of globalization because it is the sole superpower and because many of the multinational giants are American-based. Similarly, Appadurai (1996) illustrates how "mass-communications technologies" have spatially collapsed the globe and have permeated it with images of consumption. Appadurai suggests that new discourses must be discovered to understand the changes accruing as a result of globalization. These globalization debates will be taken further in chapter two, suffice it to say, however, that this thesis takes as a central point the notion of global mass media technologies as central to the notion of globalization and therefore is a main factor in the global level of hybrid identity processes.

On the global level of identity which examined youths' perceptions on globalization and global conflicts, Canadian-Arab participants concur that globalization has indeed had a Westernizing influence on life in the Middle East. Parents reported how on vacations to the Middle East the dramatic changes there have made them feel like strangers within their own country of origin. Canadian-Arab Muslims generally expressed their frustrations with biased mainstream media reports in North America which, according to them, vilified Islam. Instead, many of these youths and their parents preferred viewing satellite television from the country of origin to cross-check and seemingly validate what they hear on mainstream North American media. Conversely, while Canadian-Arab Christians felt similar empathy for ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the Iraqi people, they expressed their frustrations with the fact that Arab governments were themselves oppressive and corrupt and in many ways responsible in part for the demise of their own people. The apparent differences in the

discourses used by Christians and Muslims reveal different lived experiences in Canada, and illustrate how parents' lived experience in the country of origin influences youth identity.

Both youth and parental participant responses reveal how the "Americanizing" influence on Middle East nations has exacerbated the Arab Diaspora since Canadian-Arab parents may feel alienated from the culture which they used to be a part of. This effect of globalization on the Canadian-Arab Diaspora illustrates how many Canadian-Arab families no longer feel that there is an option to return to the homeland to live as it is no longer the same as it once was when Canadian-Arab parents resided there. This has exacerbated the notion of Diaspora as increasingly parents are feeling they do not belong anywhere. Instead parents and their youths have felt the increased pressure to make their lives in Canada successful as they no longer are able to secure life as it once was when they were living in their country of origin. This search for security in turn has had an influence on the nature of the honour and shame dynamic which has undergone small yet significant changes in the way in which it has been conceptualized and implemented. Because Canadian-Arab parents deem the homeland as falling victim to the influences of Westernization, it is deemed of little value for parents to return there to inculcate their daughters with honour and shame gender values. Instead, ethnic community organizations have become more effective in responding to such challenges through the implementation of programs for young Canadian-Arab females.

The findings of the study reveal how males are becoming of greater concern to Canadian-Arab parents for their potential to become involved with illegal activities which may end them up in prisons. This has increasingly become cause for concern, especially since the events of September 11, 2001. Indeed, according to a study conducted by the Canadian Arab Federation (2002) after September 11, 2001, the community's second most needed service besides Arabic language instruction was service or information which taught Canadian-Arabs their rights as citizens. As such, many Canadian-Arab males and their political views are becoming the highlight of the state's attention since the War on Terror and as manifested in new anti-terrorism laws targeting Arab and Muslim Canadians. Muslim male youths specifically, are feeling increasing frustration at mainstream media bias in North America which they feel denigrates the Arab culture and/or Islamic religion. This is important for educators since many conflicts between students within the school are a result of non-Arab students internalizing mainstream media myths regarding Arabs and Islam. Conversely, Christians feel left out of the Middle East discourse, and even studies which examine racist backlash against Middle Easterners fail to capture the perceptions and experiences of Christian Arabs, many of whom also fall victim to racism in Canada. The findings of this study suggest that not enough is being done to protect Canadian citizens of Arab heritage, especially during times of war, and seem to suggest that future conflict involving the Middle East will bring about the exclusion and targeting of Canadian-Arabs once again.

Canadian state policies regarding terrorism and the treatment of Arabs during times of war seem to coincide with the US state policies. As a result, exclusionary practices towards Arabs in Canadian and American education and societies usually mimic one another. Islamic groups within Canada and indeed worldwide may perceive the US led war on terrorism as an extension of the imperialism they endured during colonization. Groups like the Muslim Brotherhood, which were founded under colonial rule and which opposed colonial plans for the establishment of Israel, perceive the new US war as one serving the interests of Israel. This has led to increased anger and frustration amongst many Islamicist groups in the Middle East and increasingly among community activist Arab-Muslim Canadians. Conversely, Christians remain apolitical when it comes to issues of Middle East conflict. They prefer not

to become involved as many of them feel that the politics of the region are inevitably intertwined with the Islamic religion.

As mentioned, Giddens' (1999, 2000) analysis of identity issues was used in the study to analyze identity in light of global changes. According to him, identity has increasingly become global in the sense that it is being understood through the lens of world events. Similarly, the global conflict that has traditionally occurred between nations is increasingly manifesting itself within nations, especially ethnically diverse ones. This is extremely important when considering the future of Canadian multicultural policy because, as discussed throughout this dissertation, during times of war, the relevance of multicultural policy in protecting the rights of Canadian-Arabs is questioned. Giddens' analysis revealed how the process of globalization has been accompanied with an Americanization of cultures around the world manifested in the cultural expressions of globalization such as the establishments of McDonalds, CNN, and Coca Cola. This is especially relevant since much of the discourse used in Arab and Islamic nations perceive the global domination of the US and its foreign policies as directly related to the demise of the Palestinian and Iraqi people. These views therefore shape the identities of Canadian-Arab youths albeit in qualitatively different ways.

Conclusion

The analysis of Canadian-Arab identity formation in this study has demonstrated how identity does not develop as a result of solely immediate family socialization or socialization with peers. Rather, individual youths reject elements of their parents' lifestyles, religion, and socio-cultural values deemed irrelevant to the Canadian context and attempt to re-appropriate traditional religious and cultural values in ways suitable or even necessary for the Canadian context. Much of the rejection and selection of various Arab and Canadian values are influenced by changes in national laws, ongoing international and Middle East developments, and mainstream media vs. alternative media interpretations of these events and their developments. These factors in turn affect the way individuals of the majority culture relate to those of minority cultures, and vice versa, demonstrating how the social groupings in societies in many ways reflect global events.

During times of war, as will be argued throughout this study, federal policies such as multiculturalism are placed on the back burner as scores of Canadian-Arabs become the target of unfair media representations and fall victims to state intimidation tactics. The ongoing US led War on Terrorism, wars with Iraq, and the inevitability of Canadian participation in such wars, are all media events which cause increased tension between majority cultural groups and Canadian-Arabs in educational and societal spheres. This is important since many laws implemented since September 11, 2001 already target Canadian-Arabs in their surveillance and security efforts.

If Canada is to become truly a multicultural country it is necessary to promote a view of multiculturalism which is acceptable to both majority and minority cultural groups. The nature of educational systems as examined from the lens of the youths reveal that education merely reflects societal ignorance and prejudice. Unfortunately this has not changed in the thirty year period since the implementation of multiculturalism and, instead, Canadian-Arabs are regularly targeted as enemies of the state during periods of international conflict. Such developments suggest the urgency for government policy makers at all levels to consider the consequences of leaving such ethnic and religious tensions unresolved. All

Canadians should be taught about the history of diversity in Canada as this will aid in linking the global nature of Canadian society to the international level. Failure to do so, will lead to the festering of tensions in society and threaten Canada's internal peace and stability.

Since the tragedy of September 11, 2001, Canada, like the US, seems to be headed in the opposite direction. The implementation of anti-terror laws since September 11th has already caused more strain and tensions between Canadians without resolving the issues that lead to such tensions in the first place. Canadian-Arabs regularly feel their history and religions are misrepresented or, in the case of Christians, completely excluded. The denigration of a segment of Canadian society raises serious questions regarding integrity of the whole. In spite of such developments Canada can still maintain its international peace keeping role, if it chooses to transform multicultural policy in a manner more practical to the lived experiences of all its Canadian citizens.

In summary, the above discussion has examined the study's main question regarding the process of identity formation among Canadian-Arab youths in light of their social interactions, national policies, educational experiences, ethno-religious values, and global events concerning Arab and Islamic nations and the interpretation of these events via mainstream and alternative media sources. These notions will be further elaborated upon in Part I of this dissertation which will summarize the literature, social theories and the methodology used in this study.

Chapter One will examine the literature regarding the Canadian-Arab community and its history in Canada as well as its values. This discussion will be complemented with an analysis of national policies such as multiculturalism as well as the educational and cultural values and stereotypes Canadian-Arab youths must necessarily encounter as a result of their hybrid identities. It will also include an evaluation of various work by Canadian and American Arab scholars and their relevance to the study's key concepts namely, cognitive dissonance, Arab Diaspora, the gender concept of honour and shame, media interpretations, and Canadian Arab youths' educational experiences. Chapter two will examine social theories such as modernization and neo-Marxian theories and will illustrate the reasons for and against their use in this study. In the third and final chapter of Part I, I examine the qualitative methodology used in this study as well as the study's limitations and delimitations.

Chapter One

Research and Debates

Introduction

As illustrated in the Introduction, this study takes as a central focus the *process* of youth identity formation. As mentioned, Canadian-Arab youths are exposed to values from within their familial sphere which are themselves influenced by their parents' experiences within the country of origin as well as within Canada. These socio-cultural and ethno-religious (both Christian and Muslim) values then come into contact with mainstream secular Canadian values espoused by society and its institutions such as education and the media. Increasingly, during this age of globalization and global technologies, Canadian-Arab families are witness to ongoing events within the Middle Eastern context and from an Arab perspective via satellite news channels such as Al-Jazeera. This alternative media perspective is often in direct opposition to those media perspectives in mainstream society such as CNN, and leaves many families and their youth frustrated at what they perceive to be the demonization of Arab culture and peoples by North American mainstream media. This chapter will therefore examine how the denigration of Arabs and Muslims in North American society has been long-standing and well-entrenched and is related to mainstream media coverage of war and conflict in the region. It will be argued that such mainstream media coverage has had and continues to have adverse effects on inter-cultural and inter-ethnic understanding and harmony. Canadian policy makers as well as teachers have been unable to resolve such tensions despite the promises and policies of multiculturalism. This chapter will also examine mainstream understandings regarding the position of women within the Middle East. Negative media coverage has throughout the decades associated the oppression of women manifested in "honour killings" with Islam as a religion. This study will endeavour to illustrate the gender relations in Arab culture and the failure of Western theories and thinkers in contextualizing such gender dynamics as honour and shame.

The Canadian-Arab Immigrant Experience

While Arabs have contributed to Canadian society since their first settlement in the late 1800s, there remains very little research on this apparently homogenous yet diverse group. This section explores the immigration experiences of Arabs, their encounters with prejudicial stereotypes, differential treatment based on skin color and/or gender, Canadian federal immigration and language policies. The applicability of such theories as Orientalism is also critiqued given the context in which the youth participants were studied.

Historical-comparative research conducted by Abu-Laban (1980) demonstrates how throughout the various settlement periods, Arab adaptation mechanisms have been inextricably linked and vary with Middle East political upheavals, crises, and wars. During the 1950s and 1960s, many single professional Arab males arrived, became financially successful, and married Canadian women. Arabs arrived in entire families during the 1970s and 1980s and were successful at establishing additional private and religious establishments. On arrival to Canada during the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, many of the aspirations of highly

educated immigrants from the Arab world were crushed by the increasing credential requirements of the Canadian educational market, the institutionalized bias in immigration, and even French language laws (Abu-Laban, 1987; 1989, Abu-Laban, B., & Abu-Laban, S, 1999; Husaini, 1990; Prithipaul, 1998, Lamba & Wilkinson, 1998). As a result, many Arabs were forced either to repeat their entire educational careers or to accept unrelated occupations often humiliating and paying far less such as cab drivers, janitors, or pizza deliverers (Abu-Laban, B., & S., 1999). Not surprisingly, an undetermined number returned back to their nations of origin. Others remained either underemployed or unemployed, and have voiced their concerns within their ethnic and religious communities. In addition to variations due to ethnic origins, the experiences of immigrants also vary according to gender. Lamba & Wilkinson (1998) and B. Abu-Laban, and S. Abu-Laban, (1999) identify how there is an artificial differentiation of treatment based on the entrance classification of immigrants which adversely affects immigrant women and visible ethnic minorities despite the present and possibility of future reforms and policies implemented in the Immigration Act. The work of Lamba and Wilkinson suggests that because immigrant women are highly represented in the principal applicant class in which there is much less government assistance, many more women are likely to stay in abusive relationships rather than face deportation. Also, research has demonstrated that the host society and immigration policy tends to be biased favouring immigrants from Western Europe than Eastern Europeans, with the least desirable immigrants from Africa and Asia. This seems like another indication that the present state of multicultural policy is in need of a critical rethinking and potential revision in order to maintain and guarantee the rights of all Canadians.

My own research in collaboration with Earle Waugh among Arab-Muslims in The Province since 1996 indicates that while rejecting certain secular aspects of multiculturalism, Canadian-Arabs embrace those elements which allow them to preserve and transmit their cultural values to their children. This has already manifested itself in part, by the establishment of Islamic schools and mosques in Canada (Abu-Laban, 1989, Suleiman, 1999). Statistics demonstrate that between the years 1990 to 2000, Islamic infrastructure in Alberta has received an estimated $13,890, 000 in funds primarily from wealthy Arab families within the community and funding from Arab nations such as Saudi Arabia, Libya, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Kuwait (Waugh, Badr, and Wannas-Jones, 2000). This finding seems to reinforce Arab Canadian scholars' notion of the isolationist trend among the Canadian-Arab community to gather financial support to maintain and reinforce cultural and religious traditions.

In exploring the formation of youth identity, prior research illustrates the relevance of skin color to Canadian-Arab identity formation. B. Abu-Laban, and S. Abu- Laban (1999), note that many Canadian-Arabs do not easily fall into the visible minority category since they may be white or non-white. Scholars in the field argue that for Caucasian-Arabs, the process of adaptation is slightly eased. However, when these "white" Canadian-Arabs reveal their cultural background by introducing their names they often become subjects of harassment. The latter finding corroborates studies recently conducted by Arab American scholar Suleiman (1999) in the United States where there appears to be a growing reluctance of Arab and Muslim organizations to publicly resist misrepresentation and "...to prefer isolation to integration in a secular society" (p. 9). As Arab-American feminist, Kadi (as cited in Saliba, 1999) writes, among ethnic minorities in the US, Arab-Americans remain "...the Most Invisible of the Invisibles." Suleiman (1999) adds that historical biases against Arabs and Muslims in the United States are a result of systemic and entrenched "...racist attitudes towards people of color, Third World countries, colonials, non-Christians, and particularly Muslims" (p. 2). According to Suleiman, Heikal (1996), and Samory (1999), this distorted picture of Arabs was further complicated after World War II and the Jewish Holocaust

which fostered sympathy in the US for Israel at the expense of Palestine and the Arabs. Suleiman (1999) argues that despite progress in revising the historical biases against women, African Americans, Hispanics, and Jews similar efforts have not been made with respect to the Arabs and Muslims, and many scholars still remain ignorant of these issues themselves. What is especially relevant to the Canadian context is the fact that that during the twenty-first century, there has been little change in the negative portrayal of Arabs and Muslims in literature and movies. They continue to be depicted as "...dirty, lazy, anti-Western" and "particularly anti-American and anti-Jewish" (p. 4).

The Applicability of "Orientalism" to the Canadian-Arab Experience

A history of Arabs within North American education has virtually remained unrecorded. Moreover, there is dissension among Arab-American scholars on the applicability of Western-based theories arising from cultural studies, western feminist-based theories, and anti-racist approaches. While some scholars in the field agree that such theories are well-suited to describe aspects as identity formation and the "Arab Diaspora," others are of the view that such theories tend to categorize all ethnic groups in a uniform manner and do not analyze the various complexities involved within Arab communities in North America (Kadi as cited in Saliba, 1999). Similarly, the pragmatic relevance of Said's work is considered insufficient given the lack of a detailed historical documentation of Canadian-Arabs and Americans. Said's theory of Orientalism, therefore, cannot be extrapolated to Arab adaptation and youth identity formation in the North American context. The theory of Orientalism does not analyze the interaction and/or combination of secular Western values and traditional Arab ones in terms of the "Arab Diaspora" and the hybrid values held by members of Arab communities in ethnic and religiously diverse Western nations such as Canada.

Despite the above arguments against the applicability of Said's work in the Canadian cultural context, some of his writings may still be considered of relevance to the study in terms of analyzing the socio-cultural values associated with Arab immigrant experiences from within the Middle East, of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and exposure to Western globalized media perceptions. Said (1978; 1993) contends that the terms West, East, Occidental, and Oriental are in fact based on colonial definitions. Abdo (1996) similarly notes that for many Islamic and Arab scholars "Orientalism is conceived as the political-philosophical foundations of colonialism" (p. 2). According to her, the Arab-Muslim, out of all religions, ethnicities, and nations of the Orient has been the primary and main target of imperialists.

Samir Amin (1989), in his analysis of Eurocentrism, disagrees with some of major tenets of Orientalism. Amin holds that the term Orientalism is analogous to Eurocentrism as it falls prey to the same criticisms as Eurocentric ideology. Eurocentrism perceives itself as a theory in line with Greek history, and Christianity in the West. Denial of the Egyptian, Semitic, and Roman origins in Greek thought allows the West to distance itself from the rest or the Orient. Similarly Orientalism is seen as limited since it concerns itself with Eurocentric prejudice and not other dimensions which may account for all the facts involved in the process of "Westernization." This contradicts Said's argument that when coining the terms East vs. West, Europeans were already Eurocentric in their thinking. Additionally, both Eurocentrism and Orientalism are taken to be restricted along geographical boundaries

thereby further constraining the boundaries of "provincialism," to the point where conceptual shortcomings adversely affect and impede the development of ideas.

During the post-colonial era, the treatment of Arabs has allowed for the shaping of the notion of a new "Orientalism" influenced by the effects of globalization in the media, the shortcomings in the application of multicultural policy, and the new fundamentalisms arising in various Arab and Islamic nations. According to Abdo's own research within the Canadian high school educational context in Toronto, most students associated the term Middle East with "...oil, wealth, Islam, desert, Arabs, veiled, and secluded women" (p. 6). The responses of these students had not significantly changed from those recorded in L.M. Kenny's research conducted in 1981 in which one social science textbook used in an Ontario high school states, "Islam was born among the nomads of Arabia, who were wholly illiterate and for whom caravan raiding was a past time" (Abu-Laban, 1980, p. 83).

Negative perceptions and stereotypes regarding the Arabs and/or Muslims have not disappeared and manifest themselves in daily North American media and news sources. In a 2001 Edmonton journal book review (Rankin, Edmonton Journal, February 3, 2001) of William Hooper's "The Heathen's Guide to World Religions," Rankin criticizes the author for supporting the misperception that Islam is inherently hostile. He begins his review of Hooper's book stating how Hooper reinforces the notion that "Cracking a joke about the Dalai Lama isn't going to get you in any trouble; taking a poke at Islam's prophet can invite a death sentence." Rankin ironically reinforces Hooper stating that Hooper "...knows the risks of going too far," by letting "Islam get off pretty lightly" (Section E14). Such factors indicate that despite apparent increasing ethnic tolerance as evidenced in Canadian constitutional amendments, local and Western media, and educational curricula continue to portray Arabic culture and Islam in stereotypical terms (Suleiman, 1999; Samory, 1999).

During the 1950s and 1960s, Canadian-Arabs had responded to stereotypes by ignoring them, relying on their religion to insulate them from encountering oppression, a position eased somewhat by their relatively easy absorption into Canada's labour market. It was only after the 1978 peace treaty between Israel and Egypt that American perceptions of Arabs improved slightly when compared to the anti-Arab sentiment in North America during the late 1960s and early 1970s when there was large scale conflict between Egypt and Israel (Suleiman, 1999). Today, Canadian-Arabs continue to insulate themselves from similar stereotypes, but the fact that there are much fewer occupational opportunities than for previous generations of Arab immigrants, combined with the increasing ties of Canadian Islamic organizations to Gulf Nations such as Saudi Arabia, makes this a unique cohort (Abu-Laban, 1989).

In addition to the above mentioned difficulties, a limited employment market and the fact that prejudicial stereotypes regarding Arab-Muslims in Canadian education and society have not changed in over a decade, may partially explain the increasing resistance of many Arab and Muslim families to assimilate into Canadian society and, instead, maintain strong socio-cultural contacts within their community in Canada and in the Middle East via global telecommunications. The latter, according to Suleiman (1999), is inflamed by the dominant and erroneous image of Arab-Muslims and Arab-Christians among Westerners. Popular media, argues Suleiman, has continued feeding the myth that all Arabs are "...enemies of Israel, violent, terroristic, fatalistic, backward, immoral, liars, cheats, unreliable, indolent, licentious, sex fiends, exploiters, victimizers of women, and a threat to the West, Christianity, and Western civilization" (p. 9). Such negative portrayals are evident in Canada where Arabs rank among one of the highest groups in the "least desired" immigrant ethnic groups (Driedger, 1989, 1996). Hence a latent anti-Arab-sentiment persists in Western culture periodically inflamed by events such as the Western bombing attacks on

Iraq, and media speculation of "Arab sponsored" terrorism, most notably surrounding the alleged operations of American-trained and Saudi-funded Osama bin Laden and his allegiance with the ultra-conservative Islamic Taliban party.

The Consequences of Unchallenged Stereotypes: The Immigrant Experience of Post-Transitional Arabs in Canadian Education and Society

In encouraging Canadian-Arabs among other immigrant groups to maintain their cultural identities by attending language and religious schools on weekends, multiculturalism has been criticized for polarizing the ethnic fabric of society (Passaris, 1989). Although the Canadian government has repeatedly promised to "promote the full and equitable participation of all individuals and communities to continue to contribute to Canadian society," it has not yet realized this goal (Passaris, 1989, p. 89). Many Canadian Islamic scholars, such as Mustapha (1987), suggest that Canadian multicultural education contradicts the basic tenets of Islam, arguing that it is responsible for a "de-Islamizing" of the Muslim student (p. 208). For this reason, private, parochial, and gender-segregated schools are the choice of many Canadian-Arab Muslim parents. Traditionally, many Arab Muslim and Christian parents use the option of returning home for a period of time months or even years as a means to overcome the lures of Canada's secular society. Arab Christians encounter a parallel religious identity conflict. For example, Abu-Laban, S. and Abu-Laban, B. (1999) document one Arab Christian student's encounter with a teacher who would not allow her to take part in the communion process because the student was not considered to be a "Christian." Also, many Arab Christians have expressed their Christian identity only to be perceived as lying about their religious affiliation in an attempt to westernize themselves. Such factors point to the lack of awareness and/or rejection among many Canadian educators of the Eastern forms of Christianity as being inconsistent with Western Christianity.

For recent Canadian-Arabs, the nationalism which has developed amongst their community seems to be a conservative quasi-nationalism. Viswanathan's (as cited in Joseph, 1999) discourse on citizenship and identity is used to define "quasi-nationalism." According to her, "...the yearning for a condition of hybridity," entails "...the happy merging of discrete identities" into unity and is considered a "precondition for national identity" (p. 258). Joseph (1999) argues how North American societies perceive ethnic differences as irrelevant to nationhood or national identity, with the end result of "precluding the full citizenship for Arabs as Americans" (p. 258). Therefore, while qualitatively different than that of the Quebecois, Canadian-Arabs' nationalism seems a response to a combination of unrealized dreams and the pressure to be a good Canadian citizen without compromising Arab identity, under the severe socio-cultural pressure of the New World Order.

S. Abu-Laban, and B. Abu-Laban, (1999) prefer to use the term "Arab Diaspora" to describe the current situation of Arabs in North America. The influence of Islamicist values brought by new immigrants and exposure to global mass communication has led to a unique practice of Islam in North America in terms of its resistance to secular society. The same holds true for Arab-Christians, many of whom vehemently maintain that their Christian values stand in sharp contrast to Western Christianity. Such adaptation processes have developed to the point that visitors and relatives from the Middle East and abroad are sometimes shocked by the ultra-conservative traditions and religious values of both Christian and Muslim Canadian-Arabs. Such factors suggest a need to closely analyze the isolationist

process within the social context of Canadian-Arab community in order to erase the boundaries of miscommunication between Canadian-Arabs and the wider social public that currently seem closed off from each other.

Gender Differences in Adaptation Among Canadian-Arab Students in Education

Identity formation among Canadian-Arab females is of particular concern to parents who reject the so-called "looseness" of women in Western societies and in light of negative media stereotyping Arab and Muslim women as oppressed. As the Canadian Arab Federation's (2002) national study on Canadian-Arab views illustrates, the majority of Canadian-Arab respondents (65.1 per cent) agreed with the statement that "the Canadian media is racist in its coverage of Arab women" (p. 17). Such biased representations may make the process of identity formation more complex for Canadian-Arab females than for their male counterparts.

Cainkar (1991) notes how some of the difficulties encountered by Arab-Muslim females in asserting their identities during the process of adapting to North American culture often start as early as pre-school because of their darker hair and skin color. A sense of dissonance may occur where elements of the dominant culture are preferred to the traditional values espoused by their immediate family (Feldman, 1997). Kelly (1998) notes a similar trend among African-Canadian adolescents who identify themselves as "Black." She uses the phrase "under the gaze" to demonstrate the differential treatment experienced by African-Canadian students in Canadian education and society. Female and male children may be induced to conform in terms of clothing and speech. By junior and senior high school, Canadian Arab females will no longer be able to hide the fact they really are different since their movements are severely restricted. Cainkar (1991) contends that the unrestricted freedom of males increases female resentment of the system.

Lebanese-Canadian researcher Fahlman's (1987) research on Lebanese Muslim students within Edmonton classrooms explicitly portrays the gender-specific difficulties encountered by Arab-Muslim girls. Although both Lebanese males and females shared the view that schools should not be agents of assimilation into North American culture, their respective experiences in North American society vary significantly. While Arab-Muslim male students were allowed to go out with their friends to parties where alcohol and drugs were in use, females had to explain to their friends why they could not participate in any activity outside the home unmonitored by a male relative. Additionally, Arab-Muslim females refused to participate in physical education since it entailed the use of shorts, prohibited in Islam. Such factors may partially explain why more female than male Canadian-Arab students prefer to identify themselves as Canadian. These research findings regarding gender restrictions similarly hold true for Arab-Christians and indicate that adaptation for the typical Arab male in North American society is a qualitatively different experience than that of the Arab female (Yamani, 1996; Cainkar, 1991; Barazangi, 1989, 1991; Haddad & Smith, 1996; Haddad & Esposito, 1998).

Gender Dynamics: The Concept of Honour

The North American context may serve to increase gender disparities due to the honour and shame dynamic mainly because of the conservative tendencies of post-transitional Arab-Muslim immigrants. In the Canadian context, these concepts seem to remain a central part of the socio-cultural underpinnings of cognitive dissonance and adaptation of Arab-Muslim Canadian daughters (Fahlman, 1987). The definition of adaptation will be derived from sociologist Louise Cainkar's (1991) cross-cultural research on Palestinian-American women. According to her, adaptation is conceptualized as the coming to terms of individuals who are marginalized in both cultural worlds: they are never fully integrated into either, yet have little choice but to function in both.

Although multicultural policy guarantees Canadian families the right to maintain and transmit their cultural values, the relative freedoms enjoyed by the secular Canadian adolescent females and the liberal perceptions regarding female behaviour may complicate such a process. According to previous research, daughters of Canadian-Arab families within North America are raised with the awareness that honour killings within the Middle Eastern context have taken place in the past as punishment for not observing the traditional restrictions placed on their movements and life choices. This spectre may act as a powerful psychological block to aberrant behaviour (Abu-Odeh, 1996; Shakir, 1997). Daughters are inculcated with the belief that maintaining their virginity is the key to maintaining family honour. Any premarital sexual relations she may commit will destroy her honour and more importantly, that of her family. Abu-Odeh (1996) states that caution must be exercised when examining the psycho-social implications of honour and shame within these societies and related sub-cultures within North America, since stories of honour killings of women have often been incorrectly attributed to Islam (Yamani, 1996). Abu-Odeh argues that the practice of honour killing has also occurred in the past in non-Islamic societies such as Italy, Spain, Mexico, and much of Latin America. That both Arab-Muslim and Arab-Christian families embrace such values seems indicative of the cultural and patriarchal as opposed to religious roots of such a phenomenon. It is also important to note that honour killings have never been commonplace even among the most rigidly moralistic Arab and Muslim families.

Arab cultural conceptions concerning family practices regulating the behaviour of single Canadian-Arab daughters means life for them in North America grows ever more complex. Daughters are socialized at a very young age to act modestly (e.g. learning how to talk and laugh quietly among a host of other proper behaviours). Immodest behaviours that may threaten honour include smoking, drinking, dating, inappropriate clothing, or going out to parties without a male relative. As Qureshi (1991) notes, for the Canadian-born Arab female, outside activities are generally discouraged with the exception of attending school. By the time the daughter reaches adolescence, many restrictions are placed on all behaviour and movement. Qureshi further states that since Canadian public schools are all co-educational, girls are instructed by their parents not to engage in any mixed sex socialization. A female who fails to abide by these restrictions is considered as failing to act modestly, the end result of which may jeopardize potential marriage to more conservative Arab males in Canada. Additionally, the name of her entire family becomes tainted among the ethnic community in Canada and back home. Such familial socialization becomes complicated for the Arab-Muslim student whose peers may belittle and even ridicule the restrictions as simply "old-fashioned" habits (Fahlman, 1987).

In addition to the cultural values and norms serving to restrict the behaviour of females, there are also religious practices in Islam, considered core values relating specifically to the religiously sanctioned marriages of the Muslim female. According to the Quran, a Muslim man may marry a non-Muslim woman as long as she is a member of one of the "People of the Book," that is, Christians and Jews (Abu-Laban, 1980; Qureshi, 1991). The Muslim woman, by contrast, must marry a Muslim man or one who has converted to Islam (Qureshi, 1991; Fahlman, 1987). The latter event seems to rarely occur among transitional Arab families since most Muslims tend to believe that even a converted father will not be able to transmit such values as effectively as a man who is born and raised a Muslim. According to Qureshi, the growing worry of many Arab-Muslim parents that their daughters may choose to marry an outsider from the "non-Muslim community" has led to entire families returning to their nations of origin in an attempt to have their daughters married at the earliest age possible. The issue of inter-ethnic marriage is not as significant among Arab-Christians because Christianity is not considered a "minority" religion in Canada. There have been several occasions, however, in which Arab-Christian females are criticized for marrying non-Arab men. Such a factor is especially significant since it illustrates how many Canadian-Arabs may perceive inter-ethnic marriage by an Arab-Christian female as indicative of her inability to uphold honour.

While both female and male sons of Arab immigrant families in North America experience identity and adaptation difficulties due to the differences between traditional Arab and secular society, the behaviour of girls is much more monitored and regimented (Abu-Laban, S., and Abu-Laban, B., 1999; Abu-Laban, B., 1980; Ba-Yunus, 1991; Qureshi, 1991; Aswad, 1991). Such monitoring of female behaviour in North America is confirmed by Arab women's' studies researcher Shakir (1997). In an interview with a Lebanese mother Najeer, the issue of the honour code is clearly described. Najeer illustrates the internal conflict within her home due to the clash between secular values of North Americans and those of Arab-Muslims. Although she allows her son to go out on dates at age 16 and 17, she expresses concern over his premarital sexual relations. However, Najeer advises him to no avail that such activities are contrary to Islam. But Najeer states that families who allow their daughters to engage in such activity, are ostracized by the entire community. Although she no longer lives in the Arab world, she states that honour killings for females are socially acceptable. According to Shakir (1997), almost every Arab immigrant mother she interviewed had stated they knew of a girl or woman back home who had been killed for having illicit sexual relations.

Canadian-Arab females who overstep the cultural boundaries may find themselves shoved into hastily-conceived strategies for concealment such as a quick marriage for the guilty couple, if feasible, or a surgical reconstruction of the hymen membrane (Abu-Odeh, 1996; Shakir, 1997). Yamani (1996), states that virginity is a regulatory practice of the female gender. The Arab male is a virgin by default because he bears no physical mark to prove or disprove his virginity, whereas the female's hymen membrane used to determine her virginity on her wedding night is a powerful physical and socio-cultural symbol of honour. Once a woman bleeds on her wedding night, she receives the stamp of respectability and honour (Abu-Odeh 1996; Yamani, 1996). For traditionally conservative Arab families, if this event does not occur, the resultant shame and lack of face in the community could only be reconciled by her death. Sociologist Barazangi's (1989) research indicates that such gender disparities may be made better or worse for Muslim-Arab females depending both on their relationships with their brothers and the degree to which brothers have accommodated traditional socio-cultural Arab values. Some are reported to have taken their sisters to parties when these girls would otherwise not be allowed to go. Others may maintain the gender

disparities by reporting to their parents any social infraction his sister may commit (Barazangi, 1989; Fahlman, 1987).

The honour of a male is not based on his actions, barring serious criminal behaviour, but rather on those of the women within his household and his extended family including cousins and nieces. For him, engaging in premarital sex carries no threat of being ostracized or deemed unmanly. According to Fernea (1998), the honour of a male is based on the gossip network which in turn serves to regulate Arab female behaviour. Abu-Odeh (1996) explains how the honour killing of a female by her brother is a regulatory practice of the male gender. A male whose sister's reputation is questionable jeopardizes his masculinity and marriage plans as well as her siblings, and even her cousins. According to the research of Cainkar (1991) and Barazangi (1989), the close-knit nature of the Arab family unit in general has led to the notion that a male outsider dating a female from within the family may threaten its integrity whereas an outsider female does not carry the same threat. The aforementioned issues underscore the need to raise more awareness of the Canadian-Arab community and Arabic culture among North American federal and provincial governments, educational policy makers, educators, students, and the general public. Additionally, newly arrived Canadian Arabs must become aware of the intricacies of socialization processes in Canada as early as possible to avoid difficulties in successful adaptation into the new homeland.

The Need for a Comprehensive Multicultural Education

In order to arrive at an in-depth examination of Canadian-Arab youth identity formation for the study, it is critical to examine Canada's historical, socio-cultural, and linguistic diversity and the federal government's responses to such diversity. This section examines the history of Canadian multiculturalism, federal responses to ethnic and religious diversity, and the current state of multicultural and anti-racist education and policies. The section is intended to provide a critical background against which the identity formation and isolationist tendencies of the Canadian-Arab community may be explored.

While Canada has always been a diverse country, educational history and even government policy tend to focus on the role of the "Founding European Fathers," whether they were British or French (Bibby, 1990, 1995; Greene, 1989; Wotherspoon, 1998). However, a critical re-visiting of the historical conditions prior to and after the start of the nation building process, reveals that Canada was never mono-cultural. Even prior to French and British settlement, Canada was home to hundreds of different First Nations tribes who spoke a variety of languages and held disparate religious and cultural value systems (Pal, 1993; McLaren, 1994; Contenta 1993; Sleeter 1996; Canada & the World Backgrounder, 1998). As Canadian sociologist Edward Herberg (1989) notes, "...minority ethnicities have indeed been present throughout the entire period of Canada certainly long before the British conquest of Acadia and Quebec" (p. 17). Herberg holds that since there has always been change in Canada's ethnic composition, the norms describing these ethnic groups have also changed.

Unfortunately Canadian perceptions and attitudes towards First Nations peoples in education and society remain largely negative. As educational scholar and member of the Saddle Lake First Nation Noella Steinhauer (1997) writes, "...poverty, language development, values, and racism" are factors which affect the delivery of the social studies programs to First Nations students in Canadian schools. This is complicated by the fact that

"...current social studies programs are designed for a predominantly white urban population" (p. 251). According to her, the poor socio-economic background of many First Nations students is "...directly reflected by the students in the classroom through their appearance, confidence, and attendance" (p. 251). Kehoe (1997) concurs, noting that the prejudice and discrimination of various ethnic groups against First Nations within the Canadian formal educational system has not changed much despite multicultural educational programs. Kehoe's research was conducted among a group of grade five students from a variety of cultural backgrounds. The participants had completed a background course on First Nations a few months prior to the study and were provided with same-sex photos of members of six different ethnic groups. According to Kehoe, the most surprising finding was that an overwhelming majority of students who identified themselves by various ethnic backgrounds had negative attitudes towards First Nations peoples and a similar majority had more positive attitudes towards Chinese than any other ethnic/cultural group.

Canadian educational scholars and government policy makers have also further noted the contemporary and persisting tensions between French and English Canadians. Prithipaul's (1998) research regarding Francophone Albertans reveals serious problems with the ways in which multicultural policies have been implemented. According to Prithipaul's findings, the debate on multiculturalism for Francophones is far from over and is "...rooted in political, cultural, and economic life" (p. 50). Prithipaul's research suggests that despite Canadian constitutional policies which officially claim to equally recognize and respect the French language and culture, French speaking immigrants in provinces like Alberta cannot locate work and must instead become proficient in English in order to earn a living. Prithipaul states that politically sanctioned immigration policies continue to be biased against French-speaking Canadian citizens who face enormous pressures to integrate into educational and occupational sectors despite their high credentials and proficiency in English. She argues that this is not only a problem for the Quebecois but for a variety of immigrants arriving from French speaking nations such as Algeria, Belgium, Cameroon, French Guyana, Haiti, Laos, Tunisia, and Morocco. Additionally, the survey responses indicate how "...considerable public awareness is needed to raise the level of awareness of French as one of the official languages in the country" (p. 53). Prithipaul's argument that the Francophone immigrant "...must deny his cultural identity in order to survive," seems a dire indicator that the present state of multiculturalism has proven unable to fulfill its basic promises (p. 57).

Canadian Immigration Trends

History of Multi-cultures in Canada

A historical examination of the European settlement of Canada may demonstrate that the rights of ethnic minorities as well as marginalized class groups and women were not addressed by colonial administrations. European colonization is a relatively recent event in the long history of Canada, with First Nations Peoples constituting the majority before their population slowly declined in relation to "Old World" immigration (Pal, 1993; Sleeter, 1996; McLaren, 1994; Contenta, 1993). At the time of contact, historians estimate that approximately a quarter million First Nations Peoples were scattered across what would later be termed Canada. According to historian Finlay (1990), the practical lives of First Nations People entailed two basic guiding principles. First, they emphasized community solidarity. Second, they had no interest in the accumulation of wealth, refusing to "...become attached to something to the point of being enslaved by it" (Finlay p.39, 1990). Yet the exploitation of First Nations labour and the sexuality of their women by settlers were integral practices of the so-called 'nation-building' years from 1880 to 1920 (Contenta, 1993; Ng, 1991). First Nation children were often forced to attend residential schools distant from their homes, thereby severing them from their parents, culture, and traditional way of life.

Contemporary tensions between French and English Canadians have been traced to the historical struggles between the two groups. According to sociologist Driedger (1989, 1996), French colonialists had permanently settled Montreal 150 years before large-scale British colonization of Canada began. The French military power was defeated between 1759 and 1760 at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, signalling the end of France's North American Empire. The French were only allowed to keep the tiny fishing islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off Newfoundland (Finlay, 1990). Finlay and sociologist Driedger (1989) note the deportation of French-speaking Acadians from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to Louisiana after the British conquest. French-Canadians were denied all colonial administrative positions. The inability of the French-Canadians to regain their economic and political power may be attributed to four main factors, according to Finlay. First, the British elite greatly outnumbered their French-Canadian counterparts. Second, the French failed to establish a genuine bourgeoisie mentality and therefore were unable to adapt to the new conditions and challenges after 1760. Third, the power of Quebec's Roman Catholic Church was displaced by the British colonial administration after 1760. According to the British colonialists, secular bourgeoisie society would not be able to develop freely unless the restrictions of religion were removed. This further served to diminish the political power of French-Canadian culture. Finally, the French military and its services became moribund as a consequence of British military rule. It was not until 1796 that the Royal Canadian Regiment was created and by then, the military tradition of French Canada had been eliminated (Finlay, 1990). Given this historical context, Mazurek and Kach (1990) argue that the policy of multiculturalism seemed to many Quebecois, an "...insidious plot to undermine the special status by elevating the status of other cultural and linguistic groups," while simultaneously buying off the potential "third force of immigrants" (p. 145). Similarly, Kehoe (1997) maintains that despite the fact that French Canadians are no longer denied "equality of opportunity" and have received official status in terms of language and culture, "...French Canadians still want to leave" (p. 149).

Driedger (1989; 1996) states that the first two waves of European immigration from 1901 to 1911 and 1911 to 1921 exceeded the natural population increase in Canada at the time. Differential treatment of ethnic, gender, and class groups has been documented from the outset of the nation-building years. Ng (1991) and Bibby (1990) note the role of upper-class British women, who worked in the private sphere to "facilitate capitalism" by recruiting immigrants from Britain. Female Anglo-Saxon settlers to Canada were often formally nanny-trained in Europe, and therefore received better-paying jobs than women from the Caribbean and Philippines, who had not received such training. Individuals of visible minority groups were consequently oppressed on the basis of their gender, ethnic background, and lack of the "cultural capital" deemed essential at the time. Ng and Bibby further note the exploitation of male Chinese immigrants brought into Canada as a source of cheap migrant labour to build railways. These men were severed from their families and were prohibited from engaging in any sexual relations with white women lest there be a propagation of the "yellow menace" (Ng, 1991, p. 15). Driedger (1989) observes the deportation of Japanese-Canadians, who had first arrived in Canada as early as 1884, to concentration camps in the interior of British Columbia during World War II. The respective observations of Ng, Bibby, and Driedger appear to reinforce the notions embedded in critical pedagogical theories. Gender, class, and race as terms, relationships, and power struggles are manifested differently according to the specific historical, cultural and political contexts within which they are embedded (McLaren, 1994; Curtis, Livingstone & Smaller, 1992; Wootherpoon, 1998). Such observations demonstrate how the interaction of class, gender, and ethnic background, although qualitatively distinct factors, interactively serve to influence the nature of historical relations and various power struggles within Canada.

By the early 1960s, Quebec began to undergo the "Quiet Revolution" (Driedger, 1989, 1996; Finlay, 1990). Reacting to centuries of English domination, the Quebec government began nationalizing industry and promoting Francophone educational and business advancement in order to become "Masters in Our Own House." The centrepiece of national industrialization was the creation of Hydro Quebec, the state-owned power and utility company which became one of the largest of its kind in North America. But many Quebecois felt that without the creation of a separate state, they would still be vulnerable to cultural discrimination by English Canadians. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, Quebec was experiencing very strong separatist sentiments. The terrorist Front de Liberation du Quebec began a bombing campaign in Montreal (Finlay, 1990). These growing tensions culminated in the October Crisis of 1970, when British trade minister James Cross and Quebec labour minister Pierre Laporte were kidnapped by the FLQ. Laporte was subsequently murdered and Prime Minister Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act, which was a formal declaration of martial law. Federal troops guarded the streets of Montreal and Quebec City and mass arrests of suspected FLQ sympathizers were made. In actuality, many of those arrested were peaceful Quebec nationalists and separatists with no connection to the FLQ. Important personages such as Trudeau, Jean Marchand, and Gerard Pelletier as well as most ordinary Canadians agreed that the "Canadian federation was experiencing the most serious crisis in its history" (Pal, 1993, p.98; Mazurek & Kach, 1990). The October Crisis had forced Ottawa to address the historic causes of French-Canadian resentment at the inequities of Confederation. Consequently, bodies such as the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism were established "...for the purposes of studying the grievances which French-Canadians and particularly Quebecers were voicing more vigorously" (Driedger, 1996, p.107). In 1971, Canada was institutionalized as a bicultural and bilingual country.

The nationalist demands of the Quebecois throughout the 1960s seemingly started to take a back place due to the arrival of visible minority immigrants from Latin America,

Africa, and Asia. Li (1996) contends that whereas immigration trends during the Post World War II era relied heavily upon Western European nations such as Great Britain as a major supplier of immigrants with the right "cultural capital," this changed during the 1960s. According to him, Canadian immigration policies during this time focused on the recruitment of individuals with "human capital" or educational credentials. By the 1980s, immigration policy had again encountered changes because of the slow economic growth in Canada. This meant that immigration policy increasingly focused on the recruitment of immigrants with skills while restricting sponsored relatives and refugees. By 1994, changes in immigration policy included the reduction of the total number of immigrants to arrive in Canada between 1995 and 2000 and this meant a drop from 250,000 before 1994 to 183,000 in 1995. The new need for entrepreneurs as well as those with good language skills, and people who are generally readily able to adjust to changes in the "rapidly-changing labour-market" became the priority in immigration policy (p. 101). The implementation of official multicultural policy in response to the demographic changes of the 1970s will be described next. Fundamental changes since the institution of multicultural policy have not yet occurred despite tremendous changes in Canada's social fabric and the interconnectedness of the new global village.

Multiculturalism as Canadian Government Policy

In order to appease French-Canadian nationalism and respond to the report presented by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Trudeau's Liberal government developed an official policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" in October of 1971 (Ghosh & Tarrow, 1993; Mazurek & Kach, 1990). But as Kach and Mazurek (1990) note, to many Quebecois, the policy of multiculturalism seemed an implicit means by which to sidetrack Quebec nationalist sentiments. Nevertheless, the Trudeau government tabled four key policy points in the House of Commons. First, the government would assist all Canadian cultural groups which demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to develop a capacity to grow and contribute to Canada. Second, the government would assist all cultural groups to overcome "barriers to full participation in Canadian society" (Bhatangar, 1981, p.89). Third, the government would promote "creative encounters and interchange among all [existing] Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity." Finally, the government would aid all immigrants in enabling them to "acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society" (Bhatanagar, 1981, p. 89). In 1983 and 1988, a federal department of state was established to look over multicultural affairs (Fleras & Elliott, 1992). French and English became the official languages and 11 implementation and advisory committees were created (Cannon, 1995). According to Canadian multicultural scholars, official multiculturalism in Canada takes the form of six government programs:

Grants for multicultural activities.
Cultural development programs.
Funds for the writing of ethnic histories.
Funds to support ethnic studies.
Funds for teaching the official languages.
Encouragement of federal cultural agencies.

Today, Canada is home to more than one hundred languages among them German, Italian, Ukrainian, Dutch, Polish, and so on. Between 1996 and 2001, however, language groups from the Middle East and Asia recorded the largest increases. These languages

include but are not limited to: Chinese, Punjabi, Urdu, Tagalog, and Tamil. By 2001, about five million individuals were allophones (i.e. they reported having a mother tongue besides English or French). This increase is related to the changing demographics described. 2.9 per cent of the Canadian population report Chinese as their mother tongue, making Chinese the third most common mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2002).

Within Western Canada Winnipeg, Manitoba's largest non-official mother tongue is German. In contrast, in both Calgary and Edmonton, Alberta, the largest non-official mother tongue is Chinese and this also holds true for Vancouver, British Columbia. All three of these provinces recorded increases in allophone languages such as Tagalog, Vietnamese, Arabic, and Punjabi, to name a few. This increase is related to the parallel increase in immigrants from Asia and the Middle East between 1996 and 2001 as described above. This increase is important for policy makers to take into serious consideration given the highly politicized countries and/or war-torn regions from which many of these new immigrants arrive. The impact of these increasing visible minority groups and the relative ineffectiveness of official multicultural policy is described next.

Government Responses and the Realities of Canada's Ethnic Diversity

According to post-colonial scholars, countries like Australia and Canada are encountering greater national identity crises than even colonial and post-colonial nations. This is a significant factor when examining macro "Canadian national identity" and contrasting it with the micro-sub-cultural identities of Canadian-Arab youth and other ethnic groups. For all Canadians, the fight for Canada as a country is far from unified and for many it remains virtually non-existent. As Lawson (1999) states, the Canadian situation is explained both by the internal "provocation" from within, (i.e. such as separatist, and nationalist tendencies), and pressure from without, Canada's proximity to its massive American neighbour to the South. Canadian educational scholars Davis (1995) and Keuhn and Calvert (1993) also concur that the North American Free Trade Agreement has served to strengthen the US economy while weakening the Canadian government's ability to dictate its own national economic policy. American influence is further exacerbated by the Canadian public's lack of awareness of the highly secretive nature of the NAFTA negotiations. Information, that is released, is little more than pro-American propaganda thereby robbing Canadians of the opportunity to critically analyze the negative consequences of the agreements. Furthermore, Prithipaul (1998) adds that the pressures of increasing international globalization accompanied with increasing ethnic diversity in almost all industrialized nations have made it imperative for Canadians to re-examine the history of their nation building process. But as Keuhn (1992) observes Canadian educational policy makers are being directed to serve the needs of industry and technology sectors by tracking student performance in order to catch up with the demands of globalized neo-liberal economics. Recent policy changes to this effect in Canada and Alberta have included the storage of student assessments on a computer based tracking systems to make national and international comparisons of students' academic performance. Such changes are perceived by critics as furthering the globalized neo-liberal agenda with the effects of widening the gaps between the haves and have-nots by providing the former, in private educational institutions with a disproportionate amount of educational resources and expertise such as computers and training not available to the public system which has consequently suffered from dramatic cuts to teacher salaries, and administrative staff (Kachur, 1999).

The Debate on Multiculturalism in Canada: Multicultures or Globalized Melting Pot"?

Contemporary researchers still debate multiculturalism as a policy solution to the above crisis of diversity and public services. This has been especially important under the current globalization process which has inadvertently affected Canadian socio-cultural values in addition to federal and educational policies. For some Canadian-Arab immigrants the term "multiculturalism" is enough to provide them with the impetus for isolationism. Globalized telecommunications have allowed many Arab newcomers the opportunity to maintain their Arab identity at the expense of integration into Canadian society. This has adversely affected Arab assimilation and adaptation processes since continuous exposure to Arab satellite programming has not assisted them in learning neither English nor the "Canadian way of life" in terms of social norms, federal and provincial laws. However, some educational scholars such as Leonard and Patricia Davidman (1997) claim that multicultural policy in Canada may be perceived as a revisionist approach adopted to resolve instances of historic oppression. Nevertheless, others such as Eric Mack (1996) state that underlying the very term "multiculturalism" is "...a deeply corrosive rejection of all general norms, rules, or truths" (p. 1).

At issue for the Canadian-Arab community is its maintenance of socio-cultural and religious values that serve to perpetuate gender inequalities. As Mack points out such values illustrate the inherent contradiction in the cultural relativist perspective of multiculturalism. He argues that although cultural relativists support multicultural policies and claim to be "friends of tolerance," they must also paradoxically accept the intolerance of ethnic groups if it is part of the latter's value system. According to Mack (1996), multiculturalism is a deadly form of "ethnic politics" which when expunged of its male Eurocentric dominance, is left with little but liberal tolerance and rationales which he predicts will do to Canadian education and society "...what ethnic politics has done for the former Yugoslavia" (p. 2). The view parallels the conclusions of Ghosh and Tarrow's (1993) study which indicated that while Canadian educators generally tended to be in agreement that multicultural content should be part of pre-service teacher training, there was a substantial number of teachers in both universities who felt such content was unnecessary. Ghosh and Tarrow similarly point to the disintegration of entire nations such as the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia as a consequence of decades of tensions between diverse ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups.

Kehoe (1997) attempts to take a more balanced position regarding multicultural policies, arguing that as Canada presents itself as a democratic society, it must necessarily and equally represent the rights of all its citizens. He cautions however, that the latter does not imply a blind acceptance of all cultural values, providing examples such as female infanticide or the coercion of daughters to marry, which run contrary to democracy. To him, Canadian multicultural education requires the transformation of assessment and placement procedures; the removal of ethnocentric bias from the curriculum; and the assurance that teacher bias does not interfere with the possible achievements of students. Also, teachers must encourage their students to retain their ethnic languages instead of forbidding usage. They must also celebrate and attempt to understand the religious and cultural traditions of various ethnic groups, and should encourage students to cultivate friendships from members of disparate ethnic groups to enhance understanding of the many cultures in Canada.

According to the work of several Canadian scholars, the Canadian government and its educational and societal policy makers recognize the reality of increased diversity in religions, languages, and cultural backgrounds among Canadian students. Yet they still

appear opposed to transforming the present state of multicultural policy. They advocate minor reforms such as the implementation of multiculturalism devoid of Canada's historical reality. Former advisor to the Ontario government on multiculturalism, Dr. Suwanda Sugunasiri, supports such limited reforms to the policy which he believes will be more "relevant" to all Canadians in the next century (Canada & World Backgrounder, 1998). According to Sugunasiri (as cited in Canada World Backgrounder, 1998), in order for Canada to be prepared for the new millennium, the government must stop funding "hundreds" of heritage languages while retaining British and French as "...this would link our multicultural reality to our future on the global level" (p. 7).

Sugunasiri maintains that Canadian refugee policies as they now stand make Canada a "...dumping ground for all the woes of the world" (Canada & World Backgrounder, 1998, p. 7). Additionally, he states that minorities must "stop crying racism at every turn and instead consider the oppression of White Anglo Saxon Protestants" (p. 8). While embracing such apparently extreme reform policies, Sugunasiri suggests that Canadians should include an ambiguous "spiritual component" in multicultural policy which combines the faiths of the East and West and appoint MLAs from a variety of ethnic backgrounds to represent "...minorities until they can be elected through the political process" (p. 8). Sugunasiri makes the argument for "equality for all," based on the unsubstantiated claim (see research in next section) that there is no need for affirmative action-like programs since racism affects all ethnic groups in a uniform manner. Sugunasiri, trumpets his anti-racist approach in a superficial fashion by his impractical proposal to abolish the monarchy which he states no one other than a WASP could occupy, while ignoring the root problems of multicultural realities in Canada.

Cosmetic reforms such as adding a spiritual component or electing MLAs will not ensure the disappearance of systemic and institutionalized racism in Canadian society and education. As scholars Carrington & Bonnett (1997) note, "there is a lack of impact of multicultural education and anti-racist education on the Ministry of Education" (p. 416). Sungasiri also states that although government policy makers make "...grandiose and naïve claims about how they are going to make kids less racist" ... "they have no practical policies to this effect" (p. 12). The self-appointed expertise of Sugunasiri demonstrates that ethnic minorities in positions of political and economic power can also be used to advocate racist, sexist, and classist agendas. Therefore a significant transformation of educational systems which includes the histories of women, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and working class minorities seems necessary.

The Contemporary Realities of Canadian Education

In order to examine youth identity formation among Canadian-Arab students, it is important to analyze the educational discourse concerning Canada's educational system and recent changes in educational policies. Critics of Canadian education have complained that the educational system is no longer serving the majority of students but rather the elite. As Canadian educator and scholar Davies (1994) states, Canadian schools simply do not, "...prepare young people for post-secondary education or for the workplace" (p. 1). Davies maintains that the Canadian educational system is in fact derived from the "business, and industrial world," which he argues "...shapes the organization, the administration, the curriculum design, the evaluation processes, and the instruction in every school in every province" (p. 2-3). As a result, government policy makers have advocated practices such as streaming, tracking, and increasing use of standardized testing to ensure the absorption of the "right type" of students into their respective occupations in the hierarchical labour market (Wotherspoon, 1998; Wright & Sears, 1997; Taylor, 1994; Sleeter, 1996; McLaren, 1994; Whitty, 1996; Green, 1996; Coleman, 1996). The latter practices are designed to reassure that their children's achievement levels will "catch up" with those of Japanese children who are, according to the government, purported to "...know far more at age nine than Canadian high school students do" (Davies, 1994, p. 17). While critics argue that such comparisons do not take into consideration the disparate socio-economic, political, and cultural conditions between Japan and North America, others are of the view that there may be some aspects of Japanese education worth emulating such as Japan's high educational standards and high values placed on public funding of education. This emphasis seems significant especially since historically Japan has emulated aspects of European technology and science while retaining Japanese cultural values.

It seems that Canadians and policy-makers expect to achieve the best possible results with the least amount of resources, thus placing tremendous pressure on the school system to economize. This tactic further places pressure on educational personnel and leads to educational reforms such as the cutting of administration and its substitution with technology-based learning programs (Pocklington, 1999; Wotherspoon, 1998; Whitty, 1996). Governments have created the fiction of a passive educational administration ripe for fast-cutting and replacement by computers which unlike humans will not agitate for educational reform or higher wages. This so-called self-contained educational bureaucracy is non-existent since in most schools there is no clique of technocrats completely removed from students and jealously hoarding and consuming resources. The increasing use of computers in the classroom has only served to increase the pressures on teachers while exacerbating the gap between the haves and have-nots. The belief that a teacher can be replaced by a manufactured computer which can never respond to the diverse needs of students from disparate ethnic, and class backgrounds nor can it encourage critical thinking skills seems to be an increasingly widespread lucrative policy among federal government policy makers. According to Lee Easton (1999), education has been restructured to suit the dynamics of a "digital workforce." Easton likens the latter to the requirements of the Ford assembly line, whereby minimal print literacy has been replaced with minimal computer literacy. The failure of technological instruction and replacement of teachers is illustrated in the growing number of children who cannot use the internet because they cannot read. Hence the schools are seen as the primary means through which a small elite number of students' attitudes and values can be shaped for their roles in a computer and technology-elite dominated society.

The Current State of Multicultural and Anti Racist Canadian Education

Provincial Differences

The need for an effective, federal multicultural educational policy is constrained by the fact that provincial governments have sole jurisdiction over their educational policies and curricula. The latter are aggravated by the globalization process, in which both neo-liberal and neo-conservative governments on both provincial and federal levels continue to espouse policies which marginalize working-class, ethnic minority, and female students by stripping national governments of their decision-making powers. These factors render the current state of Canadian multicultural education far from holistic since it ignores past and contemporary tensions between various ethnic groups. The research of Carrington and Bonnett (1997) compares the influence of anti-racist and multicultural education in the two most ethnically diverse provinces of Canada: Ontario and British Columbia. They argue that the implementation of multicultural policy varies greatly from province to province and is based primarily on provincial, political conditions serving to "...shape and modify the articulation and effects of federal policy" (p. 1). According to their research, the high proportion of African Canadians in metropolitan Toronto may be a critical factor in the shaping of debates regarding issues of multiculturalism and anti-racism when compared to British Columbia and African-Canadians' relatively smaller size and hence significantly less attention to such issues. Carrrington & Bonnett (1997) describe how the particular historical, social, and economic characteristics of African-Canadians, affects their mobilization and organization of grassroots efforts to raise awareness of racism in education. According to the research, the British Columbian government's approach to multicultural policy tends to be assimilationist in nature. This assimilationism is manifested in the B.C. government's superficial implementation of multicultural policy which defines multiculturalism as based on the notion that "mutual respect unites Canada" (Carrington & Bonnett, 1997, p. 415).

While Ontario began making changes to educational and government policy to accommodate a growing ethnic diversity fourteen years prior to B.C., educators in Ontario also began implementing IQ tests at a much faster rate than B.C. But according to Carrrington and Bonnett, anti-racist education has, lost the popular support it first held mainly because it was perceived by other minority groups as being primarily concerned with "Blacks," and not other ethnic and religious minorities. In B.C., more attention was given to the parochial aspect of multiculturalism and anti-racism, and there seemed a general concern among B.C. respondents that there was not enough leadership from the government on issues of anti-racism and multiculturalism. Many B.C. academic respondents concurred that the current state of anti-racist discourse was centered primarily on skin color, when the more salient issue to the B.C. context were conditions of First Nations who still suffered from the highest rates of educational attrition, early deaths, suicide, and poverty. First Nations have responded to anti-racist and multicultural policies by disassociation and separation of themselves from anti-racist programs they consider assimilationist. Ghosh (1996) concurs with the notion of the fragmentary nature of Canadian educational policies. She states that such policies have been of little practical effect due to the lack of a united educational approach, inclusive of the history and contemporary realities of all provincial governments. Without this, Ghosh continues, a holistic Canadian multicultural education for all its students does not seem feasible.

Neo-Conservative/Neo-Liberal Approaches to Ethnic Diversity in Education

Many of the values embraced by educators within public education have not changed despite Canada's increasing diversity. Unfortunately, this does not bode well for the future of multicultural policy as Canadian educators at both school and university levels contend that university training programs implemented during the 1980s have done little to prepare them for diversity in the classroom. They further assert that the available training programs attempt to place equal attention on the values of individualism and relativism in the educational process, the value of the former became firmly instilled in students while relativism continues to be treated like a "given assumption" (Bibby, 1990, 1995; DeFaveri, 1986).

Ghosh (1996) concurs with the above arguments, observing a similar pattern during the 1990s. She analyzes the neo-liberal and neo-conservative debates that have dominated the discourses on multicultural education and contends that while neo-liberals emphasize the importance of multicultural education by embracing the "equality of all races," they often do so by overlooking the inherent differences within disparate ethnic groups. According to her, the neo-liberal approach to resolving inequalities inherent in the educational system is to provide surface-level solutions such as multicultural days or language programs. Conversely, while seeming to embrace multi-cultures, neo-conservatives emphasize European/North American norms and values to which all other ethnic groups are expected to adapt. As Kachur and Harrison (1999) note, the neo-liberal approach has influenced Alberta provincial and federal educational policies. According to them both governments place great confidence in human capital and free market competition with the Alberta government leading other provincial governments in cuts to public education in the mid-1990s.

The outcome of both the neo-liberal and neo-conservative discourses has been to espouse a strategy whereby multicultural education has come to mean the reduction of prejudice through educational programs and the acceptance of a mono-cultural pedagogy to be taught and accepted regardless of the cultural, gender, ethnic, religious, and/or sexual orientation held by students. In Canada, such education has resulted in the continuity of "heritage days and festivals" void of any critical understanding of the history of Canada as a country or respect of the cultural relativism among founding nations and future new Canadians.

Summary

As argued, the espousal of multicultural national and educational policies in Canada within the neo-liberal framework has not resolved race, class, and gender differences. Despite the fact that diverse cultural groups have existed in Canada since Confederation in 1867, it was only after a century had passed that the government implemented a "multiculturalism policy," one seemingly promulgated to defuse French-Canadian nationalism in 1971. As a result, the current multicultural educational structure which evolved from the 1971 policy does not address the problems faced by the large variety of non-Franco and Anglophone peoples. Multiculturalism has not ameliorated the problems of the past. Rather, by failing to adapt to the rapidly changing ethnographic patterns of society, it may have exacerbated them. Multicultural education must take the best that both ethnic

and secular culture has to offer and disseminate the resulting synthesis among as broad a student range as possible. The history of racism, classism, and sexism in Canada must become a significant part of both teacher and student educational curricula.

The lack of a true multiculturalism is of special significance given the exclusionary treatment afforded to Canadian-Arabs during times of war and conflict involving the Middle East. This is especially important since the events ongoing in the Middle East in 2003 suggest that there is once again, an increasing ethnic division between Arab and non-Arab in Canada. It therefore seems an open question of how educators will implement a common view of a multiculturalism that would serve the needs of all Canadian citizens. Federal and provincial governments see a strong correlation between the content and the process of schooling for national and regional economic prosperity, but this does not seem feasible without a clear and common view of Canada for all Canadians. Educators such as Connell (1992) suggest policy makers should no longer perceive of educational inequalities as being restricted to a homogenous group of "disadvantaged individuals" as this would imply that the mainstream are all on an equal educational standing. He also argues that the failure of the past three decades of top-down reform approaches to provide equal educational opportunity, equal outcomes of education, and upward social mobility may be explained by neo-conservative and neo-liberal attempts at reform. Instead he encourages an educational approach which emphasizes social justice and an ethnographic examination of the school as a workforce or institution in order to uncover "...how exclusion occurs through routine practices" (p. 65). Educational scholar Ken Osborne (1991) arguing from a Vygotskian perspective, states that it is the teacher's role to stimulate and guide the student to build on their existing knowledge in order to refine and extend it. Critical pedagogy scholars agree arguing that teachers should listen and respond to the students' concerns and lived experiences (Giroux, 1991; McLaren, 1994; Sleeter, 1996).

The above arguments are important for teachers of Canadian-Arab students' during times of conflict and war in the Middle East. Students' realities should be incorporated into the teaching process where appropriate and their work and mistakes should not be judged but constructively worked out with educators. As Collins (1991) states, ideological struggles and tensions such as those involving the Middle East, within North American societies, can be ameliorated through the educational arena since teaching is an arena of "...political activism wherever it occurs" (p. 305). The latter would indefinitely mean a significant transformation of the current state of Canada's neo-liberal educational and societal institutions, which have institutionalized discriminatory practices against women, ethnic minorities, and working class individuals (Wotherspoon, 1998; Kachur, 1999, Peters, 1999; Marchak, 1993). Education should be used as a vehicle to obtain the necessary skills to provide an egalitarian society in which "development" is equated with the eventual abolishment and prevention of social inequalities. This may be accomplished through an education that includes the histories of all Canadians, while providing students with critical thinking skills. Together these factors may help to unfold coherence, creativity, and hope. Such skills would empower students to actively participate in the national and international events affecting their everyday lives and futures.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Introduction: Social Theoretical Debates

As chapter one has illustrated, the educational realities of Canadian education are seemingly related to the demands of free market competition vs. an in-depth understanding of the ways in which diverse cultures have contributed to Canadian society. This is important since many visible minority groups experience two cultural values, experiences, and perceptions of Canada. As such, the social realities of Canadian-Arab educational experiences differ from that of the dominant cultural groups. In order to contextualize the Canadian-Arab youth identity formation process I will describe a variety of social theories ranging from modernization to neo-Marxian, gender based analysis, feminist, masculinity, and neo-Gramscian theories. I will also explain the reasons why or why not these theories are useful to gaining an understanding Canadian-Arab youth identity formation. The chapter also clarifies my use of neo-Gramscian arguments such as those of Stuart Hall and Henry Giroux and elements of Giddens and his work on globalization as well as my choice of select arguments from gender based analysis, feminist, womanist, and masculinity theories.

Arab-American scholars in the field have often used multi-theoretical perspectives to describe the experiences of Arabs in the Middle East. Yet the experiences of Arabs in Western contexts, argue some, cannot be analyzed using such theoretical paradigms. According to Saliba (1999), although Arab assimilation and adaptation mechanisms are "...inextricably linked to events of the Middle East," anti-racist and cultural theories attempting to explain the inclusion of "Arabs" within these debates "...remains highly politicized" (p. 307). Suleiman (1999) agrees, adding how many new Arab Canadians and Americans arriving during the late 1980s and 1990s refrain from political activity in the United States and North America "...either because they wish to maintain their ideological purity or because they believe it is not possible to have an impact on the system" (p. 8). This section examines the theoretical arguments, strengths, and limits of modernization/neo-liberal, neo-Marxist, and post-colonial/feminist, womanist, and masculinity theories in light of these above considerations.

Modernization Theory

Modernization theory associates the term "development" in terms of the adoption of economic, politico-social, and educational approaches of the liberal positivist model developed by the core Western capitalist nations (Toh, 1987). Modernization perceives itself as being the only universal developmental instrument, ostensibly inter-operable and effective for the needs of all nations. This view has become more widespread since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Yet liberalism's triumphs may not be as sweeping as they might seem. The recent collapse of Asian and East European liberal economies, the global deflation of currency and concomitant social unrest suggests that systemic flaws are inherent within this economic doctrine. Therefore both developed and developing nations, (which have embraced modernization programs) may consequently be forced to re-evaluate the efficacy of liberalism in providing modernization developmental programs which address their

unique historic socio-economic dynamics. Such a process may reveal similarities between the overt paternalism of the colonial era and the apparent egalitarianism of liberalism.

Scholars, such as Toh (1987) and Bacchus (1988), contend that the modernization of educational and societal systems based on the human capital theory and similar constructs have failed, resulting in an increase in the educated unemployed, the maintenance of the status of neo-colonially-supported ruling elites, the widening gap between rich and poor. Furthermore, Arnove (1980) argues that the current expansion and modernization of educational systems by developing nations with the aid of Western funds and advice perpetuates and exacerbates the dependency of the former upon the latter, resulting in a form of neo-colonialism. Therefore, the modernization paradigm has been interpreted in this context as a continuation of Western and increasingly American dominance over the nations of the South, aided by the collaboration of South elites.

The modernization paradigm has its roots in human capital theory, which encourages investments in education as well as overseas education and training of students. Industrialized nations hold themselves as examples to the world of how the pursuit of higher education allows upward social mobility. One can even argue that Western education is guilty of maintaining a form of class-based neo-colonialism within the core liberal nations themselves. For example, in Canada, students take out loans in order to obtain post-secondary degrees. By the time they graduate, a large portion of students' income goes back to the government to repay these loans. Freire (1993, 1997) suggests the United States is guilty of using education to maintain the status quo. He argues that the US has recently reduced its proportional share for funding early childhood in public schools.

Educators and policy-makers have identified the rise of industrialization, marked by the launch of the Soviet Sputnik satellite in 1957 and the development of nuclear weapons by the USSR and China, as the two main factors that influenced Canadian education following World War II. These technological advances seemed a dire warning of the potential of socialism and were, according to Wootherspoon (1998) and Murphy (1994), the impetus for North American educational reformers and policy makers to develop an educational system which could compete with those of Eastern Europe (Wootherspoon, 1998; Taylor, 1994). According to scholars, the structural functionalist concepts of "equal opportunity" and "achieved merit" increasingly influenced Canadian government educational policy-making, which began to emphasize the importance of increased funding in mathematics, physics, and the natural sciences (Wootherspoon, 1998; Taylor, 1994; Marks, 1977). During the post World-War II era, the industrial race took precedence over the need to respond to the increasing ethnic diversity occurring in Canadian society and educational institutions (Ghosh & Tarrow, 1993; Wootherspoon 1998; Contenta, 1993).

Human capital theory or neo-liberalism argues that investment in education increases the chances for individual upward social mobility while leading to economic growth of the entire country (Simmons, 1980; Toh, 1987). But educational policy researchers like Toh argue that massive investments into developing nations' educational and societal institutions with the help of Western organizations have in fact, had the opposite effect. He states that the billions of dollars in aid have served only to increase national debts while enriching elites and their neo-colonial allies. The masses in both developed and developing nations remain largely untouched by these programs. The resulting large-scale social instability is seen in the rise of disparate new ethnic and religious conservative ideologies provide evidence that an alternative workable solution must be found.

Globalization Theories

Anthony Giddens (1999) defines globalization by contrasting two views: the sceptic and radical perspectives. According to him, the sceptics voice their doubts with the fact that the global economy has changed. For the sceptics, trade remains regional rather than world-wide. By contrast, the radicals who Giddens concurs with perceive globalization as "very real" the consequences of which "can be felt everywhere." (p. 8). According to the radicals the global market-place is much more developed than during the 60s and 70s and is "indifferent to national borders." In Giddens' view therefore, globalization has affected every aspect of life from the political to the technological to the societal and familial worldwide. Giddens perceives the US as central in the globalization process as it is the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world with many of the largest multinationals in it.

For Giddens globalization should not be conceptualized as a unilinear process but rather one which is an array of complex processes operating in different directions at once. These complex processes on the one hand involve the "pulling away" of power and influence from local communities and nations and the concurrent establishment of a new global arena. Globalization also pulls downwards in the sense that it creates the conditions for the revival of local identities and cultures but also the more worrisome rise of new nationalisms. Finally, globalization has created new regional zones within or across boundaries of nation states such as the Hong Kong region, northern Italy, Catalonia, or Silicon Valley.

Giddens examines globalization's effects on tradition, the family, and risk. Whereas in past decades dangers came from the fixities of tradition or nature the globalization age is characterised by manufactured risk or risk brought on by human intervention such as global warming or genetic modification. During this post-traditional era, individuals are forced to actively engage with expert knowledge produced by experts making the choices and risks they weigh reflexive. This reflexive choice is central to Giddens conceptualization of reflexive modernization theory. During the age of modernity argues Giddens, individuals are quite constrained by the limitations of tradition which still exists. Increasingly due to globalization, this has slowly changed as individuals are able to order their activities in light of expert knowledge as opposed to fate, tradition, or obligation. Hence self-identity can no longer be derived from a given order but instead must be created and re-created. The process of identity construction is never stable as it is influenced by the institutions of modernity which themselves are undergoing change.

Appadurai (1996) similarly contrasts the characteristics of modernization with those of the current globalization era. For Appadurai modernization theory is inherently flawed because it has failed to capture the complexities of the cultural process. Appadurai characterizes modernity as "irregularly self-conscious and unevenly experienced" (p. 3). Appadurai places special attention on the spread of "electronic media" and the "acceleration of migration" under globalization both of which, he argues, serve to enlarge the possibilities of the experiential unevenness which characterized modernization. Thus globalization influences identity and produces "new scripts for possible selves" (p. 3). Appadurai describes the globalization era as one characterized by the rise of religious, ethnic, and identity politics as opposed to disenchantment with nation-state politics. To Appaduri, the globalization era has created with Diasporic and post-national "communities of sentiment" which confound

theories that depend on the continued salience of the nation state as the key arbiter of important social changes" (p. 4).

In order to capture the boundless nature of globalization Appadurai uses five categories or scapes to describe the vast cultural flow in the present globalization era. These scapes are the multiple worlds that are constituted by historically situated imaginations. And are described as follows: financescapes which refers to the disposition of global capital to move large amounts of money across national borders; mediascapes or the production and dissemination of information and images across national boundaries; technoscapes, the movement of technologies across borders, ideoscapes the circulation of ideologies and counter-ideologies aimed at obtaining political power; and ethnoscapes the landscape, mobility, and diasporas of persons who constitute the world in which we now live. Apparudai notes how despite the mediascape dominance in today's global environment it should not be seen as the "opium of the masses." Rather, through the consumption of media images individuals and groups worldwide have provoked "...resistance, irony, selectivity, and in general, agency." This is important especially for this study since Canadian-Arab youths are able to select Arab news channels which may be in contradiction to Canadian and US mainstream news channels. The complex processes involved within the globalization process thus characterizes the work of both Giddens and Appuradai and is the basis on which globalization in this study is conceptualized.

Because this study examines issues of identity in relation to globalization, theories of modernization neo-Marxism, post-modernism, post-colonialism, and gender are understood within this study's conceptualization of globalization described above. Moreover the conceptualization of Americanization and global capitalism as central to globalization illustrates how asymmetrical power relations within and between countries are also considered as central to the way in which globalization is defined in this study.

Neo-Marxian Theories

Martinussen (1997) and Peet (1999) describe neo-Marxist theories as a reaction to the emergence of the growth and modernization theories emanating during the post-World War II era. This period of time coincided with the independence of peripheral nations from their colonial powers. Martinussen and Peet outline the works of some of the major neo-Marxist theorists who have contributed and provided alternative theories to those of the modernization, growth, and development paradigms.

Neo-Marxist theorist Baran, contends that peripheral or "backward nations," are characterized by dual economies: on the one hand they are comprised of large subsistence agricultural sectors where productivity is extremely low and where marginal productivity is close to zero. Secondly, they have much smaller industrial sectors with large levels of productivity. Baran contends that although growth and development in periphery nations lay within the industrial sectors, such sectors are constrained by the competition from industrialized or centre nations. Baran argues that there are two main factors considered responsible for this process: first the small domestic market size and second the competition of highly industrialized nations within the world market.

Baran emphasizes the nature of the different types of class struggles within nations over control of economic surplus. Both Marx and Baran place emphasis on class relations and their impact upon the utilization of economic surplus. Marx examined the oppression of

the masses or proletariat due to the bourgeoisie usurpation of their labour products, while Baran was more interested in the class struggle of four segments in society. Baran argues that land rent is taken from the farmers, interest on credit is then taken by the second group higher in the hierarchy, the money lenders (who may or may not simultaneously act as the landowners). Profits then go to the merchants and the final surplus from capitalist production goes to the foreign capitalists and national industrialists. These four economically dominant classes, according to Baran, have no interest in industrializing their country since it would threaten their vital interests. Similar explanations have been appropriated by other neo-Marxists to demonstrate why developing nations remain underdeveloped.

Criticisms were launched against neo-Marxist theories as that of Baran's. According to neo-Marxist theorist Cardoso, such theories are unable to explain the specific problems caused by extensive industrial development in different sociological contexts within the peripheral nations and were deemed too simplistic. Cardoso rejected the notion that peripheral countries could be treated as one group of dependent nations. Instead he stated that the external manipulations of capitalism would have varying effects in various peripheral nations because of their own intra-societal conditions. He furthermore argues that even the most successful kind of development within a peripheral country cannot be compared to the development of centre countries.

Criticisms have been launched against neo-Marxian theory based on its pivotal assumption that the contradictions in capitalism would lead to social unrest followed by revolution. This has not occurred in the majority of capitalist nations where the majority of individuals remain passive in their acceptance of globalization. Individuals, who are involved in organized resistance to globalization as seen in the Seattle World Trade riots, are perceived as enemies of peace and are presented as such in the global media. Resistance in the Middle East by Palestinians is similarly portrayed as violence with no in-depth understanding of the historical and root causes of such aggression, thereby causing divides between mainstream North American individuals and those exposed to alternate views via Arab media and satellite programming. Inequalities between the haves and have-nots both within and between nations are on the rise. Organized resistance and/or revolution that directly leads to change in the current state of globalization, has yet to be manifested.

Despite the lack of direct societal change as a result of organized resistance, these movements have impacted upon corporate and media agencies indirectly due to the accessibility of these events via internet and satellite television programming and resultant pressures on such corporations to abide with human rights and environmental polices. Giddens in a critique of Marxist theory, maintains that while labour becomes commodifed due to capitalist production, time has become a separate entity from the space or context in which it occurs. This is a direct result of clock time. According to Giddens, such space-time distanciation is responsible for stretching social relations and actions across time and space in unique ways and to different degrees. Throughout all cases, however, the specific time-space modality is considered the modality of power. Unlike neo-Marxist arguments described above, Giddens (1999, 200) considers this type of power as the "transformative capacity" of social action where all individuals have the ability to transform the world through their own agency or through the agency of other individuals.

Postmodernism and Post-Colonial Theories

Postmodernism and post-colonial theories provide scholars in the field of Arab/Middle East studies with a paradigmatic framework to critique modernization. This is important for Arab-American ethnic studies as many consequences of modernization have shaped Islamic and Arab nationalistic discourses. Postmodern theorist Thomas Popkewitz (1998) and post-colonial scholar Homi Bhabba (1999) contend that the failure of modernization in developing nations worldwide is evident in the deterioration of their economic, social, political, cultural, and educational conditions. Instead, there is a new "epoch" in society where power is fragmented, cultural homogeneity has eroded, and there is an increasing distrust of democracy. In many countries, the state is no longer perceived as representing the interests of the people. Popkewitz further argues that although there may seem unity between nation-states because of increasing international trade ties, there is actually an increasing ethno-cultural fragmentation within each country due to increasing "nationalisms." Economic globalization as manifested in the policies of the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank have resulted in the diminishing of the power of nation states to choose their own economic and social policies by allowing global capitalism to dictate the terms under which it will invest. The past must therefore be revisited in light of the new knowledge of the present because the present is continuously being "historicized" (Torres, 1998).

As previously indicated, the failure of modernization techniques in the Arab-Islamic world has led to the revival of nationalist movements which could re-vitalize, feminize, and rationalize the past and current secularization of Islam. Edward Said (19785) argues that the terms "West," "East," "Orient," and "Occident," coined to demarcate European authority over the world, are invalid because of the cultural synthesis resulting from colonialism and neo-colonialism. Said contends that it was during the post-Enlightenment period when the term "Orientalism" was founded, helping to set European culture and identity above the "East," which became an "underground self." Said (1995) argues that the resurgence of nationalist movements for identity in the postmodern era is epitomized in the struggles of the Palestine Liberation Organization, one of many anti-colonial liberation movements active in the Middle East. But Moghissi (1999) disagrees, suggesting that if Middle Eastern scholars are to critique modernization, they "...will need to clarify for themselves what alternatives exist for the Islamic world" (p. 58). According to Moghissi (1999), Arabs and Muslims cannot place all the blame for their current socio-economic state on colonialism and imperialism. Similarly, Tamara Sonn (1998) attributes the increasing diversity within the Muslim world to the failure of Arab-Muslims to develop a common and holistic *Weltanschaung* within the Islamic framework to unite Islamic nations. Giddens' (2000) concurs with some of the above criticisms launched against post-modern theory. He adds that while globalization has presented the entire world with a universal culture in which new resources for differentiation and fragmentation, the post-modern account of this is "misleading."

Michel Foucault's post-structuralism and Western feminist theories provide a basis on which to further analyze the effects of modernization programs and policies on Arab and Muslim women. According to feminist Deveaux (1996), few thinkers have influenced Western feminist scholarship as greatly as Foucault. Deveaux and feminist scholar Lennon (1995), arguing from a post-modern perspective, agree with Islamic feminists that the explicit patriarchy of traditional values must be compared and contrasted with the more insidious patriarchy implicit in the current so-called "progressive" era, camouflaged behind male-dominated neo-liberal market rhetoric and its self-proclaimed accomplishments for women.

A Foucault state that much of the knowledge transmitted throughout history has been "subjugated," meaning that all women and marginalized people seeking to improve their conditions must be critical of all that is presented as "knowledge for transcendence," or "power-free knowledge." Western feminism has critically examined Foucault's theory on knowledge and power, criticizing it for "...undermin[ing] social change by obscuring the systemic nature of gender oppression" (Deveaux, 1996, p. 232).

Western feminist Bartky (as cited in Deveaux, 1996) agrees with some arguments presented by Islamic women with regards to these well-entrenched forms of Western patriarchy. Bartky states that there are three ways in which the "modernization of patriarchal domination" within Western societies is accomplished. First, exercise and diet regimes promote an "ideal" body size and configuration. Second, too much attention is placed on social etiquette such as gestures, postures, and movements. Finally, cosmetics are used to display the feminine body as an "ornamental surface." According to Bartky, feminists need to closely analyze the concepts of femininity and femaleness. She maintains that femininity has been shaped by the dual nature of the feminine bodily discipline, which encompasses socially-imposed and voluntary characteristics inseparable from patriarchal ones. Conversely, the concept of "femaleness" allows women to re-discover their gender identities free of patriarchal definitions and classifications. These arguments from feminist theories will be contrasted with Islamic feminist and womanist theories described next.

Islamic Womanist/Feminist Theories

As briefly mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, scholars of Arab culture and Islamic faith have used elements of Western theory such as feminism to describe the situation of women in Arab and Islamic nations. With regards to the position of women in Islam, Islamic feminist theory which couches feminist based arguments into an Islamic framework is contrasted to womanist theory. Islamic womanist theory is used in this context to describe the recent trends accruing from the interaction of Islamic values in secular mainstream Canadian society. I, in collaboration with Earle Waugh (2002) used this term in research conducted with the Muslim women's community in Alberta during the 1996- 2003. The research illustrated that Muslim women in Alberta are increasingly taking on leadership positions and that such moves can be understood from the ways in which they interpret the Islamic religion within the Canadian societal context. As such, many of these women freely interact with other non-Muslim Canadians while maintaining strong religious and womanist values. This seems to be related to the way in which they perceive their identities as Muslim women. The nature of the Islamic values held by these women therefore can be more adequately explained by Islamic womanism as opposed to Islamic feminism.

Islamic Feminist Theory

While Islamic womanist theory focuses on traditional Islamic values and roles, Islamic feminism as a theory has emerged primarily from Muslim female scholars in Western contexts and refers to the attempts made by Muslim women to gain equality of opportunity with their Muslim brethren. The main avenue used by Islamic feminists to achieve this is known as *ijtihad* or the independent interpretation of Quran by Muslim women. Islamic feminists believe that through *ijtihad* they can effectively counter the edicts or *fatwas* issued by male Muslim scholars. But there have been very few if any successful breakthroughs made by Islamic feminists in promoting the position of women in Islamic communities in North American societies. Scholars such as Mernissi (1975, 1991) argue that the main reason why this has not occurred may be attributed to the nature of the reactionary Islamicist movements and their patriarchal values which dominate their interpretations of Quran and Hadiths. But others like Moghissi (2002) have sharply criticized the Islamic feminist interpretations of Islam and their proponents. Moghissi states that "...to defend Islam and Muslims against the well-stocked arsenal of anti-Islamic, anti-Arab/Iranian stereotypes can hardly be done through what she calls, "apologetic accounts of women's rights in Islamic *Shari'a*." Moghissi contends that attempts to argue how, for example, four witnesses are required as preconditions for the stoning of a woman caught in an adulterous act "...can hardly convince us that the provisions of Shari'a are compatible with the provisions of human rights" (http://www.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/moghissi_text_only.htm). Instead, she maintains how counter-arguments to such an Islamic feminist-based interpretation can be made based on other elements within *Sharia* law such as the fact that the testimony of two women is equal to that of one man. This, according to her, illustrates the inherent inequality between the genders as outlined in Islam and therefore cannot be explained away using Islamic feminist arguments.

Islamic "Womanist" Critique of Islamic Feminism

The above discussion illustrates how Islamic feminism is perceived as apologetic. In other words, interpreting Islam to respond to Western criticisms regarding gender equality in Islamic or Arab societies is seen as an extension of a neo-colonial hegemonic agenda. Moghissi's comments above, illustrate how counter-arguments based in Islam and in response to Islamic feminist based ones can be easily made. Moreover, womanists criticize radical feminist theories for creating divisiveness between the genders. Within the Middle East Arab feminists have seemingly contributed to the exacerbation of the already difficult challenges encountering the women they purport to assist. Instead, it is critical to use as a starting point the gender understandings of the culture or religion being studied (Waugh and Wannas-Jones, 2002). Womanist theory is therefore predicated on the fact that the role of women must be understood within the traditional culture or religion from which these women come and that the way in which a society defines the relationship between men and women is central.

Diop (as cited in Dove, 1998) argues against using feminism to describe the nature of gender relationships in Africa. According to Diop, the intrusion of Western colonial values in Africa led to the replacement of the indigenous matriarchal society with a Eurocentric patriarchy. Diop argues that matriarchal based societies in Africa were suited to the warmer climate, whereas European based societies were patriarchal and that this patriarchy was more suited to the colder and harsher climate of Europe. The replacement of

matriarchy with patriarchy in Africa occurred because of the intrusion of Western cultural values during colonialism into African societies. Hence the use of feminist theories to understand the nature of gender relations in contemporary Africa must take this into consideration as a starting point. Feminist theory does not and seemingly cannot do this and, as such, does not offer any *real* understanding of the development of gender hierarchies in non-Western based societies.

Islamic Womanism Defined

Islamic womanism assumes the role of women as it is prescribed by Islam. Islamic womanist theory rejects in principal the application of Western based theories and terms. Consequently, many Muslim women reject the feminist interpretation of Quran to further attain equal rights by Muslim women and for Muslim women. They see it as antithetical to the nature of Islamic societies. Instead Islamic womanists argue that Islamic feminists use apologetic methods to criticize the status of women in Islam and how it is outlined in the Quran, Hadiths, and Islamic laws or *Sharia'a.* Islamic womanists perceive the Quran as divine knowledge from God and hence reject Islamic feminist arguments.

As mentioned, Islamic womanist theory is based on the assumption that Islamic feminism is an implicit extension of colonial based hegemony. As such the very term feminism seems to accentuate Eurocentrism and is heavily resisted by Muslim women. Islamic feminism is seen as one of the many methods used by Western societies to once again subjugate the peoples of the Islamic world. For Islamic womanists, therefore, the Quran has already laid out the roles of men and women. In this context, Muslim males and females have certain prescribed roles which mutually benefit them. It is unnatural therefore for Muslim women to attempt to gain parity with Muslim men since this is contradictory to the way in which ideal Islamic societies should be (i.e. non-hierarchical).

Islamic womanists argue that the Quran guarantees males and females equal but different rights and although there may be certain contextual statements indicating that men have slightly more control over their destinies than women, this does not in any sense detract from the guarantee of female individuality and rights. Kandiyoti (1996) argues that whereas much of Western feminist theory is based on the assumption that "...there are no psychological and temperamental differences of males and females," Islam holds that while men and women are seen as equals before Allah, they have similar religious but different life responsibilities (p.175). Islamic womanists, therefore, accept the different roles of men and women and do not attempt to argue away these concepts to appease Western cultures or peoples. To Siddiqqi (1975), the movement by Islamic feminists to obtain occupational and educational equality will only place women in social and educational institutions which have historically discriminated and marginalized them because of the view that they are furthering imperialist goals. For many Islamic womanists, obtaining equality with men begins with the separation of male and female students, especially during adolescence. The purpose of this approach is to nurture both male and female minds during the educational process. When Western feminists challenge Islamic sanctions of polygamy, Islamic womanists hold that Islam sanctions it because it is preferable to the adultery and high divorce rates common in non-Islamic societies. Still other Islamic womanists point to the original role of polygamy as a survival mechanism embraced by the early Muslim people during wartime in which scores of Muslim males were being killed.

In light of the womanist discourse, it may be argued that much of the *perceived* patriarchy in the Arab and Islamic world has been exacerbated by colonial and neo-colonial intrusions into their traditional way of life. As such, Arab and Muslim nations and their peoples under colonialism have felt the need to defend their faith and values against those of the Western-based European values affecting the role of women; therefore the colonial intrusion is perceived as a stimulus to the increasing extremist interpretations of religions within these nations. This colonial mentality has hampered the ability of Arab and Islamic nations to move beyond interpreting religion into every day life to clinging on strongly to

religion and religious interpretations of daily and world events. Despite the so-called independence of these nations from decades and centuries of direct colonialism their cultures and religions are once again being forced to take a resistance stand-point. The intrusion of Americanizing influences under globalization has therefore contributed to the continuing and primary role given to religion and religious interpretations. This "hegemonic colonial mentality" reinforces the primary role of religion and can be seen as a mode of "consent" to the current global hierarchical order of societies as it has led to the proliferation of Islamicist groups promising to re-shape society *for once* in line with their own agenda and in resistance to the West. This Islamicist discourse, in turn, leads to the further oppression and subjugation of people within these nations as seen in discourse used in the 2003 War on Terror. As such, the Middle East and Islamic nations have not been able to develop naturally and reach their own form of "enlightenment" as in Europe. It is therefore important to be aware of how the people within a specific culture or religion define themselves, their gender roles, and ethno-religious and cultural values prior to imposing upon them a theory which does not contextualize the very essence of what is being studied.

The Need for a Gender-Based Analysis

The above discussion illustrates the various arguments used by Muslim scholars and women in describing their position outlined in Islam. Debatably Islamic womanism better describes the role of women in relation to men in Islamic societies and, as outlined in the Quran, it does not argue *against* male patriarchy. According to womanist theory such a notion is deemed irrelevant and therefore misses the point of gender roles in Islamic Arab nations. Accordingly, therefore, Muslim women are perceived as reaping the benefits of the role and position of Muslim men and vice versa. Because this study also examines the gender identities of Eastern Orthodox females, it seems necessary to explain the varied responses of participants in this study regarding the role of gender concepts such as honour and shame according to gender based analysis (GBA). As such, the specific ethno-cultural and religious socialization which influences both male and female roles and positions in Arab culture, the ways in which these values are applied to the new societal context has changed in the current age of globalization makes it imperative to study both female and male hybrid identities.

GBA has its roots in the United Nations World Conference for International Women's Year in 1975 and was also the result of the Platform for Action adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (Williams, 1999, Lahey, 2002) GBA attempts to describe the differential impact of policies, programs, cultural and/or religious values on women *and* men. It aims at examining gender trends in economy and society in order to more effectively inform policies. As Lahey (2002) notes, the importance of GBA as an analysis became apparent in both liberal and socialist societies illustrating how women under both systems experienced oppression in similar manners and thus espoused similar goals. Lahey maintains that GBA is preferable to feminist based analysis as the latter may have been more motivated by the hegemonic interests of the ruling class rather than women across the board. As such, it is deemed a more suitable theoretical base by which to analyze gender differences in this study. GBA will be used to explain the study's findings using select arguments from Islamic feminist, womanist, as well as masculinity theory, which will be described next.

Masculinity Theory

Masculinity theories are based on the assumption that men are not born but created and hence, in order to more clearly understand women's status in society, one must also look at men's interests. This requires an examination of the structural conditions which form the basis of patriarchy. Thus by examining the assumptions and masculine prerogatives one may understand how men maintain their dominant status of masculinity through the reincorporation of feminist arguments. However, as Pease (2002) cautions, this does not then mean that men as a collective formulate their own interests. Rather, individual men are able to maintain a sense of their own interests and this can be done by "...distinguishing which interests one is talking about and their relative importance to different men." (p. 171). Masculinity theories maintain that in order to understand the interests men have in maintaining patriarchy one must examine the way in which these constructs are related to the construction of their personal identities, as well as their values and ideas which depend on the social options in their immediate social environments.

The flexibility of masculinity theories to explain the variation in men's behaviour is deemed as extremely valuable to an understanding of the honour and shame dynamic in this study. As will be illustrated in Chapter Nine, male and female conceptions of gender roles in Canadian society are varied and can be understood as in consonance with youth's beliefs and values and therefore differ according to the way in which youths identify themselves. The combined understandings of feminist, masculinity and gender-based theories will be used in conjunction with Honneth's critical sociology of recognition neo-Gramscian based analysis described next.

Critical Sociology of Recognition

Axle Honneth's (1995) critical sociological theory of recognition will be used to understand the nature of societal disrespect and denigration many Canadian-Arabs and specifically Muslims encounter in Canadian society, the mainstream media, and education. Honneth argues that moral injury or a lack of recognition may result in a feeling of disrespect and that this adversely impacts upon identity development and social divisions. According to him, individuals may suffer disrespect on one of three levels: basic love and self-confidence, rights and self-respect, and solidarity and self-esteem. Because moral injury to the basic love is generated within the private familial sphere it does not lead to the preconditions for social struggle. Conversely because injuries to one's rights or solidarity are generated socially they *can* create the pre-conditions necessary for social struggle. Moreover, once a person or group experiences disrespect to their rights or solidarity there must be a cognitive rationalization of such experiences that may or may not lead to political resistance. The way in which individuals rationalize their experiences of disrespect as individuals and members of their ethno-religious communities leads to important analyses of hegemony which will be analysed using neo-Gramscian social theories.

Neo-Gramsican Social Theory and Education

As the above discussion illustrates Western feminist theories as well as Islamic feminist theories are deemed as inappropriate to understanding the varied responses of female and male youths in this study. Hence culturally sensitive theoretical concepts from the critical sociology of recognition, feminist, masculinity and gender based analysis will be used to describe the gender behaviours, values and identities of youths in this study. Similarly, structural functionalist and modernization theories of socialization assume top-down forms of social reproduction; however, this study starts from different assumptions arising from neo-Gramscian cultural reception theory and argues that youths play an important part in the social construction of their own identities. Neo-Gramscian theories are therefore deemed suitable for examining the influence of "commonsense" methods used by global media outlets to present Arab events and crises while illustrating the effects this has on the identity formation of Canadian-Arab youths. Through the mobilization of a variety of symbolic resources inside and outside their various communities, they derive the means to both reproduce and contest the social order. The theory will account for the explicit influences of students' interpretive ethnic communities and their own implicit skills, and motivations. The classical work of Antonio Gramsci (1996) and his analyses of education, culture, society, and power will be used to account for some of the above assumptions. Such critical theories have been further informed by interpretations of contemporary socio-political events by critical educational scholars in culturally diverse nations, for example, cultural studies scholars such as Stuart Hall in Britain and Henry Giroux in the US. Both Hall and Giroux, using select arguments from neo-Gramscian theory, contend that students actively participate and challenge the reproduction of intergenerational identities in their communities and schools. The theories of Hall and Giroux attempt to explain the above through an analysis of the methods by which the intellectual and political elite implicitly manipulate social and political policies through the transmission of values via popular mass media, culture, and information technology, which serve as venues to maintain and reproduce societal hierarchy.

Gramsci (1996) uses the term "common sense" to describe the covert method through which the religious, social, and political elite instil various ideologies, themes, or policies. Common sense, therefore, results in the eventual acceptance and legitimization of social inequality and hegemony. To Gramsci, hegemony is based on consensus or a common sense emerging from the conflict between opposing social forces, ideologies, and philosophies. According to him, it is during these societal ideological struggles between and among disparate subgroups, that select values become transformed into common sense solutions or official policies which are meant to conciliate these often opposing values. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie play an active role in the formation of common sense and the maintenance of hegemony. As a consequence, hegemony exercises its power over the political and economic institutions of contemporary society, with relatively little dissent, through the shaping of society's fundamental socio-cultural norms.

Gramsci (1996) urges critical educators to analyze the socio-political systems and institutions that shape culture and society. This is considered by him to be an on-going process since culture and socio-political events in societies are constantly in a state of flux and must be interpreted according to the historical conditions of the time. This holds true for education. Gramsci maintains that any analysis of education must necessarily include a comprehensive analysis of existing social and cultural formations informing societal power relations. For Gramsci (1996) "every relationship of hegemony is necessarily an educational relationship" (p. 350).

Gramsci (1996) further holds that the notion of the "authoritarian classroom" in which the student passively learns what is being taught, fosters the view that the knowledge the student possesses is irrelevant to the learning process. Instead, Gramsci urges educators to analytically examine the nature and effects of their authority as teachers on students' learning processes. Educators, argues Gramsci, must support students of the oppressed segments of society in mastering the tools of power and authority that would allow them to break the reproduction of societal inequality and advance themselves. For critical educators, this entails not only teaching all students how to read and write, but also providing them with the necessary critical tools and knowledge to effectively participate, challenge, and/or contest the social order surrounding them. Gramsci states that all educators must also be aware that they are also being educated. He contends that the knowledge and cultural capital all students bring with them to the classroom are essential elements for educators to use in empowering and raising awareness of students' roles as active members contributing to their communities.

Neo-Gramsican Applications to Education: Stuart Hall

Stuart Hall (1997) applies Gramsci's theoretical concepts of "common sense" and "hegemony," to analyze the influence of socio-economic class on concepts of race and ethnicity within education and multicultural society in the United Kingdom. Hall argues that Gramsci's analysis of state, education, and power relations is extremely relevant to any conceptualization of the state, its roles, and functions. Gramsci's theoretical definition of the state and its political institutions contends Hall, expands the state's role to include not only administrative and coercive functions but educative, cultural, and informative ones as well. Hall suggests that critical educators should become instruments in illustrating the latter and raising awareness of the "taken for granted" political dimensions of culture. This involves inculcating students with the knowledge that they hold the potential to use their culture as a means for social struggle and empowerment. Hall further states how this is considered necessary social and political knowledge for all students and is directly related to the development of disparate values, identities, desires, and social practices. Hall does not see the current use of education in the UK, as one providing students with this knowledge. Instead, he argues that the contemporary state of education espouses values claiming to serve the majority but in fact respond to the needs of the "...productive forces of development" (Hall, 1997, p. 56). His approach describes how labour and educational institutions in society maintain a societal, homeostatic which reproduces the hierarchical labour force hence serving the needs of a small, powerful ruling minority.

Hall concurs with Gramsci, cautioning how any analysis of state and education must inevitably include an analysis of the current socio-cultural values pertaining to contemporary socio-political structures and processes. He cites the example that the differences in the racism which characterized Britain's high economic growth and development during imperialism, highly outweighs its similarities in today's British labour market and societal institutions due to a variety of changes in Britain's economy and society. According to Hall, the distinctions, similarities, and intersections between race and socio-economic class as analyzed by Gramsci, demands an in-depth analysis when examining the educational experiences of individuals from various ethnic groups. According to Gramscian theory, argues Hall, members within the same ethnic group espouse different socio-cultural and political values that vary with time and are heavily influenced by disparities in socio-economic status. Hall similarly states that although there are common economic-based

interests among members of economically and politically dominant groups, there still exists variations and even contentions within these groups due to varying non-economic based issues such as the espousal of different socio-political ideologies.

Hall's arguments are extremely relevant to ethnic tensions manifested among Canadian society's diverse ethnic groups. For example, research conducted among the Canadian-Arab community during the 1990s, reveals that more financially successful Arabs tend to perceive assimilation in more favourable terms than their less-advantaged counterparts. However, even among the former, there are divisions along seniority in terms of settlement to Canada, familiarity with Canadian society, individual standing within ethnic and religious institutions, in addition to the possibility of loss of face among families whose children become too "Canadian-ized." Additionally, the influx of information due to globalization, internet, and satellite media causes differentiation in terms of adaptation mechanisms.

Toward a Neo-Gramscian Application to Education: Henry Giroux and Terry Wotherspoon

Giroux (1991) and Wotherspoon (1998) argue that the US and Canadian governments have attempted to resolve past ethnic conflict and tensions by their respective melting-pot and multicultural policies. They further assert that such policies are oversimplified and unclear, and serve to divert attention from historical wrongs and present systems continuing to exploit the oppressed. According to them, educational policy makers within culturally diverse nations have the power to legitimize processes of tracking, labelling, and streaming, which eventually lead to the exclusion of particular groups in the name of nationalism and democracy. They contend that any understanding or critique of the current state of democracy and the educational system in North America cannot be separated from a thorough examination of the current social problems such as illiteracy, poverty, and discrimination in society, all of which run contrary to the democratic principles many North American politicians claim to espouse. Giroux (1991) and Wotherspoon (1998) argue that in order to accomplish a true democracy within society, education must provide the foundation of such a vision. According to them, this means that educators must not only be aware of current social problems but must come to the realization that such problems are not only political but also "...pedagogical in nature" (Giroux, 1991, p. 199).

The arguments of Hall, Giroux and Wotherspoon reinforce Gramsci's assertion that education and politics are inextricably linked. Corporations are increasingly funding schools and universities to prepare students for the demands of the capitalist labour market. This, along with neo-conservative policies aimed at cutting funding to public education and increasing privatization, serve to undermine the independence of educational boards and policy makers to respond to the growing complexities of globalization and ethnic diversity. It seems of critical importance that educators receive the support and funding that will encourage them to listen to their students' "voices," everyday life experiences, and concerns. Such information should ultimately be linked to educational curricula which equally respects and values the various traditions, communities, histories, and values of all its students in order to encourage students to become actively aware of how they may be able to contribute to their societies and nations. For the Canadian-Arab student, the globalization of "common sense" and "hegemony" seem all too real when exposed to the alternative and opposing perspectives of global media events concerning the Middle East conflict. This according to scholars, has exacerbated the "Arab Diaspora," and created social tension.

Unpacking Ideology and Hegemony in North American Schooling

Within the educational context, Apple (1996) demonstrates the influential role of popular culture in society and the means through which varying societal forces serve to construct and deconstruct identities, socio-cultural norms, and political policies. According to Apple (1996), a critical analysis of contemporary North American culture and political spheres demonstrates that conservative attacks on public education have constituted a central element in the current US conservative party platform. Apple argues that the attack on equal education for all began in the US during Reaganite and Bush regimes in the 1980s and early 1990s, and became "revolutionized" during Gingrich-Republican neo-conservative platform in the 1990s. The return of a new-right Judaeo-Christian neo-conservatism has apparently reached its climax with the current educational proposals George W. Bush endorses. His call for an increase in nation-wide standardized tests, and vouchers for society's "unprivileged" will only serve to exacerbate the inequalities suffered by females, ethnic minority, homosexuals, and working-class students. These "band-aid solutions" have already been criticized for not providing an equal education for all but rather reproducing society's hierarchy by awarding the cultural capital of mainly the elite, middle-class, and white, male students.

In Alberta, during the 1990s and specifically the 2001 elections, a similar pattern to that of the US in its espousal of neo-conservative policies emerged. Chartered schooling is on the rise, while public services such as education and healthcare are becoming privatized. Educators suffer the brunt of dealing with cultural and religious diversity in the classroom with little to no support from the federal government. This is seemingly a result of the new global economy which has placed additional pressure on teachers to keep abreast with new computer and software upgrades. Apple (1996), argues that such right-wing political ideologies do not differ dramatically from that of the neo-liberals who have also successfully established control over the mass media and public opinion by reasserting the "...role of culture as an educational force for social and economic reproduction" (p. 130). Apple (1996) and Wotherspoon (1998) contend that both neo-liberals and neo-conservative parties in the US and Canada have, through their respective policies, transformed the educational system to one originally designed to complement democratic society by inculcating students with democratic values into a factory-like institution reproducing existing social inequalities. This is accomplished in a "common sense" manner through the implementation of standardized tests and curricula, which critical educators argue further serve to disadvantage society's marginalized. Apple and Wotherspoon add that the implementation of educational techniques such as the use of standardized tests and tracking educational performance are legitimized as effective "common sense" methods. Such techniques reward students according to their specific cultural capital. The role of education during the age of globalization has made it incumbent upon national governments to effectively compete within the world market. Critics argue that the effects of globalized capitalism have stripped students of the critical thinking skills necessary to analyze their educational and societal institutions. Instead, public education has returned to archaic teaching techniques where students passively learn through teaching methods such as rote memorization. This suits the needs of the elite and corporate societies who do not wish to encourage or even fund educational curricula in the social sciences.

Wotherspoon (1998) notes within the Canadian context, current debates over social and educational inequality shaped by neo-liberal rhetoric emphasize the fact that the "...state should not and cannot afford to offer a broad range of programs and services defined as

special interests" (Wotherspoon, 1998, p. 161; Marchak, 1988; Pannu, 1996; McLaren, 1994; Curtis, Livingstone & Smaller, 1992). In Canada, the latter seems to be the basis on which educational, economic, political, and socio-cultural policy shifts have been implemented and shaped by the dominant culture and ideology (Whitty, 1996; Green, 1996; McLaren, 1994). Weeks (1995) and Keuhn and Calvert (1993) concur stating that there seems to be a consensus at both the provincial and federal levels of the need for educational reform to suit the purposes of globalized capital. According to them, politicians make frequent reference to the need to upgrade occupational positions and education to achieve "technocratic competence" for economic development. These scholars contend that the government's over-emphasis on technology in education and the corresponding industrial partnerships with other sectors seems ironic because of the low number of high-tech occupations actually available to graduates after the completion of their undergraduate degrees in such fields (Flower, & Booi., 1999; Taylor, A., 1999; Kachur, 1999). But while many government and educational policy makers triumph the advantages of using technology in education, they also publicly state the need for educators to concentrate on literacy, numeracy, critical thinking, and lifelong skills such as instilling values for a peaceful world (Toh, 1987; Floresca-Cawagas, 1992, 1996). As Kari Dehli (1992) notes, while Ontario's Commission on Learning encourages schools to do more in terms of student learning, it also states that schools cannot compensate for parental abuse, impoverished backgrounds, and nutritional deficiencies. This seems to undermine the principle of "equality of opportunity" voiced by the professions of government and education policy makers' since those from unequal backgrounds simply do not have the same opportunity from the outset and hence should not be blamed for their continual marginalization (Osborne, 1991, 1992; Livingstone, 1999; Flower & Booi, 1999).

Kachur and Harrison (1999) maintain that there are two main rationales behind the Canadian government's neo-liberal assumptions. First, it is believed that governments cannot create jobs as efficiently as businesses because the inherent competition involved with the latter would continually improve the attractiveness of occupations. Second, individual and national skills are based on continual upgrading of Canada's supply of knowledge and skills which are achieved through the expansion of province and nation wide standardized testing depending on the needs of globalized capitalism. To complicate matters further, right wing politicians argue that too much money is being spent on multicultural and anti-racist programs which they hold is the responsibility of parents and not the educational system.

Governments across Canada throughout the mid-1990s have been implementing severe cuts to educational programs and services in most financial need such as ESL programs, school food services, and native education programs (Peters, 1999; Neu, 1999; Taylor, 1999). As Sleeter (1996) states both traditional liberal and conservative ideologies "...share a commitment to capitalist systems and the ongoing class structure and institutional hierarchy" (p. 37). The most extreme adherents of neo-conservative ideologies tend to explain educational and social inequities as a result of genetic differences. The resulting crisis in teacher confidence and the entire educational institution is forcing the Alberta government to hastily re-invest in the same programs it cut funding to in the early 1990s (Flower, J. & Booi, 1999; Weeks, 1999). To place blame on parents' for the poverty and marginalization that they and their children suffer in a developed and so-called civilized country as Canada seems to demonstrate the global level of hegemony held by the international elites and the marginalization of increasing international masses. This study explores in more detail the effects of these dynamics on Arab Diaspora and builds on the above research program in International/Global studies.

Unpacking Media Hegemony and the "Global Diaspora" of Canadian-Arab Students

In addition to a neo-Gramscian approach to identity formation for Arab Diaspora described above, Giddens' analysis of globalization will provide a starting point to critique the effects of globalization on Canadian-Arab youth identity formation. Giddens' (1999) work provides a framework that illuminates the effects of non-formal socialization processes, such as media commentary, from Middle East satellite programming, and internet news magazines in Arabic vs. Western media commentaries. Through the students' exposure and analysis of these socialization forces the study uncovers the complexities involved in Canadian-Arab youth identity formation and the phenomenon of "socialization to isolationism," a process which remains in need of further investigation.

As outlined previously, Arabs constitute a large minority within Canadian society. There are approximately 250,000 Arab Canadians living in Canada, 35,000 of whom live in Alberta.[1] Despite this, insufficient attention has been given to the Canadian-Arab ethnic group or its role and contributions in Canadian society, with less attention given to Canadian-Arab students within the multicultural context (Abu-Laban, 1991). A variety of scholars in the field of Arab assimilation and adaptation, argue that whether Christian or Muslim, the experience of being "Arab" evokes similar negative social, educational, and occupational experiences within North American culture. According to Said, international media commentaries on Middle East conflict are considered biased, and lacking sufficient detail on the social, historical, economic, and political factors that have led to contemporary conflicts in the region. This bias became most evident during the 1991 Gulf War or Operation Desert Storm when Canadian-Arabs and Muslims were harassed by Canada's Security Intelligence Services and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police for looking Arab or having a last name that sounded Arab or Islamic. According to Canadian journalist Kashmieri (1991), it was during the Gulf war that students were beaten, Canadian-Arab youth and adults arrested without cause, and their telephone lines tapped.

This study assumes that given the influx of information provided to Arab communities through Western and Arab-based media, and internet sources, Canadian-Arab youth are placed in a unique position in comparison to previous generations in which they may be more able to reconcile the opposing perceptions, values, and socio-cultural norms associated with Western and the Middle Eastern cultures in order to formulate their identity as either "Arab," "Canadian," a mixture of both, or a new yet undocumented hybridic globalized identity. Giddens, describes the way in which new scientific discoveries spawned by the technological advancements of globalization have created an international sense of fear and uncertainty of the future.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) describe the importance of the "press" in relation to individuals who remain marginalized despite enhancements in media technologies. According to them, the representation of Arabs in the media serves to subject them to a representation imposed upon them. Yet the Arab ethnic community must also necessarily influence such images through collective forms of identity such as nationalism and/or "neo-

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[1] According to the Canadian-Arab Federation (2002) these statistics do not take into consideration second, third, and fourth generation Canadian-Arabs but rather those who have immigrated and are thus first generation Canadian-Arabs.

fundamentalisms" thereby illuminating the interaction between the local and global. Such feelings dominate the Canadian-Arab community many of whom have relatives in the "Occupied Territories" or in other war-torn regions of the Middle East. "Globalization," is defined by Giddens (1999), as the "way in which we now live," and is considered responsible for "...an intensification of local and regional cultures" (p. 21).

This research will take up the "globalization" debates further but suffice it to write here how global media influence is extremely relevant when examining the nature of the Canadian-Arab community in diverse, secular countries such as Canada and US. As Giddens observes, the rise of "new fundamentalisms," has manifested itself in diverse countries on an international scale. Increasingly, individuals worldwide are embracing the "absolutisms" of neo-fundamentalist religions to fulfill the experience of losing traditional socio-cultural values due to the new global way of life. The issue (or limits of Giddens' conception) of "new fundamentalisms" will also be addressed with some scrutiny in studying the functioning of hegemony in the Canadian context.

Key Social-Theoretical Concepts

In order to organize the study's main question regarding the reconciliation of hybrid cultural values in identity, I identified five main key concepts. These concepts were used to formulate and categorize interview questions as well as assist in the analysis process. First, cognitive dissonance was used to understand the psychological and social psychological level of identity. In other words, whom do youths value socializing with? How does the selection of friends and avoidance of others reflect identity? The Arab Diaspora, the second concept used in the study, was used to illustrate the nature of living between two worlds, with two different perspectives, common sense notions, and cultural values. The Arab Diaspora illustrates how national policies often reflect global events and is used as a category by which to describe the impact of this on Canadian-Arab youths. The Arab Diaspora is also helpful in understanding the necessary connection youths have to their parents' country of origin. Do youths understand where their parents are coming from? Are youths familiar with the political discourse used in Arab nations? Do they accept or reject it? All of these questions were used to contextualize the nature of youth identity in the Arab Diaspora. The third key concept related to gender identity and involved the honour and shame dynamic. Questions asked of youths involved whether or not females felt they were treated equally by members of their ethno-religious community as well as families, as males. The fourth and fifth key concepts related to media interpretations and educational experiences. Media interpretations involved youth comparing and contrasting a mainstream media report from CNN with one from an Arab-based media channel. Responses to media interpretations were often intertwined with comments regarding educational experiences. Many youths felt that the information their teachers had of Arab culture was influenced by mainstream media stereotypes. This was true for both Muslim and Christian youths albeit in qualitatively different ways. These key concepts will be defined and described in greater detail below.

Defining Cognitive/Doctrinal Dissonance

In my continuing exploration into Canadian-Arab cultural interaction, I first focused on Islamic feminism among Arab female students (Wannas, 1998). Since 1996, this focus on Canadian-Arab communities continued. Here, I add to the above research by looking at "cognitive dissonance" - as defined by psychologist Festinger (1967) and appropriated in Mustapha's (1987) work on Arab-Muslim students as "doctrinal dissonance." The term dissonance will be linked to research on identity, socialization, and ideology. As mentioned previously, Mustapha uses Festringer's theory of dissonance in his examination of multicultural education amongst Arab-Muslim students. According to the available research conducted by Waugh (1987), Mustapha (1987), Fahlman (1987), and Suleiman (1999) religious identity is considered a central element in the identity formation process of Canadian-Arab youth. These authors concur that religion, is in fact, one of the primary means through which parents' attempt to socialize their children as "Arabs." Whereas Arabs in the Middle East are socialized through culture and religion both of which are inextricably linked, the omnipresence of Western secular values makes socialization of youth qualitatively different in Canada. Historical-comparative research conducted by Abu-Laban (1980) demonstrates an evident relationship between Canadian-Arab adaptation-assimilation mechanisms and socio-political upheavals within the Middle East Arab nations (Abu-Laban, 1980, 1991; Abu-Laban, B. & S., 1999). Exposure to international events concerning Arab nations as they occur, via a diversity of mass telecommunications and broadcasting may prove to be a profound factor in the Canadian-Arab community's move towards isolationism and the espousal of neo-fundamentalist beliefs.

Many Canadian-Arab parents use their religious beliefs in an attempt to clarify how they differ from the "others" in Canada's diverse socio-cultural matrix. This is achieved through the private sphere of the home, the larger ethnic and/or religious community, and the exposure to new sources of information via Arab satellite media, previously unavailable to the community. Such instruments of socialization are available to increasing scores of Canadian-Arab families who find them to be of extreme significance in counteracting the perceived negative effects of Western secular socialization within the public school and peer relations with non-Arab, or non-Muslim friends (Sreberny, 2000). As Lincoln and Guba (1985) point out, the qualitative researcher is involved in exposing how a "...full array of multiple realities will be uncovered" during the research process (p. 69). With regards to the identity formation of Canadian-Arab students, this is of significant importance. Saliba (1999) and Al-Hayani (1999) concur, stating how the history of Arab-Americans and Canadians in multicultural curricula is virtually non-existent. They argue that academics in the field of Arab-American studies must fully recognize how individual identities have been actively constructed, mediated, and narrated throughout the history of Arab-American/Canadian communities. By doing so, educational policy makers and scholars will be in a better position to develop "...successful strategies for political and educational influence" (Saliba, 1999, p. 306). This study uncovers the effects of formal and non-formal socialization factors on identity formation through an exploration of the lived experiences and rationales students provide for selecting and rejecting values of each culture.

Defining Arab Diaspora

For the purposes of this study, the term "Arab Diaspora" has been appropriated from the works of Abu-Laban, S. and B. Abu-Laban, (1999) in their analysis of students' experiences during the post-Gulf War era. The authors' trace the origins of the word "Diaspora" to its Greek roots in which it is defined as dispersion. The term has been primarily used in reference to the sociological examination of the persecution of the Jewish people during World War II. Today, contemporary sociologists have re-examined the term in light of the globalization factor which has led to the dispersal, scattering, displacement, and relocation of entire groups of people thereby altering power dynamics and creating a more "...complex sense of personal and collective identity" (Abu-Laban, S. & Abu-Laban, B., 1999, p. 127). Green (1997) uses the term Diaspora in his examination of African-American populations across a range of continents such as Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and North America. Green uses select sections of Herrnstein and Murray's "Bell Curve Controversy," to demonstrate how socio-biological far-right wing, neo-conservative arguments support the racist perception that Africans are intellectually and genetically inferior to other ethnic groups and that it is not the role of the school to empower the oppressed but the role of the parents' and home. Such notions, argues Green, serves to further exacerbate the "Black Diaspora."

Despite arguments claiming how standardized testing and the "hidden curriculum" serve to disadvantage visible minorities, recent research illustrates how this is not the case for all groups. In fact, many visible minorities perform much better than their fellow Anglo-Saxon students due to cultural pressures to succeed. Canadian-Arabs from higher socio-economic classes fit into this category. Guppy and Davies (1998) examine statistical research and demonstrate how the claim that all visible minorities are disadvantaged by the system is incorrect. Moreover, they argue, that with respect to secondary school certificates, Canadian-Arab students rank relatively high. This may be partially explained by the socio-cultural values of the community and socialization pressure to become educationally successful. Regardless of the success of Canadian-Arab youth, the educational process is still viewed as secular, co-educational, and extremely worrisome to many parents. Many Canadian-Arab parents have expressed their concerns over their children accommodating the wrong socio-cultural values within the school. These parents also express concern about the degree of power afforded to youth in Canadian society. Such factors suggest that despite the success of many Arab Canadian youth they are still exposed to secular Canadian socio-cultural values that pre-dominate the educational process and contradict traditional Arab values.

While conducting previous research, one woman explained to me how she thought one of the biggest problems within Western societies such as Canada revolved around the fact that children had the power to call the police or social services to accuse their parents of physical abuse. The disciplining of children and even adolescents in the Middle East may involve some physical punishment, a socialization process rejected by Canadian society as "cruel" or "unnecessary." S. Abu-Laban, and B. Abu-Laban, (1999) use the term "Diasporic parenting" to depict the socio-cultural conflict experienced by Canadian-Arab parents during the socialization process of their children. Therefore, with regard to Canadian-Arab students' lived experiences within the educational system, the term "Diaspora" may serve to provide a useful and practical means through which students may describe the degree of isolation on individual and collective levels in addition to illuminating the degree of isolationism and dispersion brought on by globalization.

The Concept of Honor or Sharaf: Gender Differences in Identity

As previously outlined, the loss of face and the concept of honour and shame refer primarily to the Arab female's pre-marital sexual behaviour. Infractions of the honour code have not been documented, and thus it is assumed that such phenomena do not occur. However recent documentaries demonstrate the critical need for policy makers on all levels to become aware of such socio-cultural complexities. A documentary recently aired on BBC (1999) demonstrates how a Jordanian woman fled Jordan to the US to avoid an honour killing only to be followed by a male relative to take her back to Jordan and receive her socially-sanctioned death sentence. A similar case occurred in 1991, when a Saudi princess was followed to the UK where she was involved in a premarital relationship with an English man. The princess was immediately taken back to Saudi to be publicly stoned for the Royal family to regain face. Research conducted by myself in collaboration with Waugh (2003) demonstrates how the concept of *Sharaf* or honour for the Canadian-Arab male does not preclude criminal behaviour. Prisoners of Arab origin felt isolated, misunderstood, and unfairly imprisoned. This was exacerbated by the lack of Islamic chaplins within the criminal justice system who could understand the complex dynamics involved. To complicate matters further, Canadian-Arab families will deny any knowledge of criminal behaviour to save face for themselves, their communities, and their religion. Further research is required to determine the extent, degree, and prevalence of the honour as a socio-cultural concept which seems to invariably influence the identity formation of Arab Canadian females and males.

Media and Educational Experiences

This study utilizes as a central focus the themes of media and education. The influence of global media in exacerbating institutionalized racism directed towards Canadian-Arabs in educational and societal spheres is therefore studied. As described earlier, conflicts in the Middle East are usually covered from a biased perspective. Such biases then infiltrate the educational system among a host of societal institutions thereby adversely affecting Canadian-Arab interactions and relationships with non-Arab Canadians. Hence verbal or physical abuse of Canadian-Arab youth within the schools by fellow students and teachers seemed to correspond with state level of intimidation of the Canadian-Arab community especially during times of Middle East conflict and war. The demonization of Canadian-Arabs by the state, society, and education during periods of war, reveals the shortcomings of multicultural policies. Despite the implementation of multicultural policies since 1971, Canadian-Arabs are regularly prone to becoming victims of state intimidation tactics during periods of conflict in the Middle East. Fairclough's work examines how mainstream media common sense becomes educational knowledge in society. This leads to state intimidation of Arab and Muslim Canadians with the consent of the public. This is paralleled within education by the denigrating comments made by students and teachers regarding the culture and religions of Canadian-Arabs which increase during times of conflict and/or war (Abu-Laban, B., and Abu-Laban, S., 1999). Such findings necessitated the analysis of Canadian-Arab youth identity on the international level by examining the nature of globalization. The themes regarding education and media are thus used to connect the micro-individual and social levels of analysis to the macro-national and international level of analysis thereby revealing important developments in Canadian-Arab identity while examining the socio-political and cultural developments in the Middle East which also influence youth identity.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has illustrated the perceived difficulties of applying Western-based theoretical explanations to the experiences of Arabs in North American societies. By examining the relevance of these theories to the study of Canadian-Arab youth and the exploration into identity formation I have illustrated how neo-Gramscian, gender based analysis and select arguments from masculinity as well as critical sociological theories are most appropriate for understanding the complex issues involved in these processes. Because neo-Gramscian theories stress the importance of the consent necessary to maintain inequality it provides and important framework in which to understand the situation of Canadian-Arab youths, the ethno-religious values of the culture of origin from which their parents come, and the Arab/Islamic discourse prevalent in these nations and accessible to Canadian-Arab families. The use of gender based analysis is deemed most suitable to understanding gender conceptions among Canadian-Arabs and as shared by both Christian and Muslim Canadian-Arab religions since both engage in honour and shame practices which differentially impact upon gender identity. In light of these specific cultural nuances the methodology used for this study has taken into consideration the various sensitivities of the Canadian-Arab community which differs among Christian and Muslim youths. These methodological questions will be addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter Three

Research Methods: Qualitative Methodology

Participants

The main source of information regarding identity formation in this study comes from the responses of twelve youths, six of whom are Christians and six Muslims with three females and three males in each group. All youth participants had parents who immigrated to Canada and therefore are first-generation Canadians. As such, the parents' lived experiences in the country of origin as well as current challenges in adaptation in Canada are considered central issues to identity development. Two parental couples one Christian and one Muslim were also interviewed to provide a parental perspective on youth identity. Finally, two religious teachers and two religious clergy were also interviewed from both Islamic and Christian communities and their responses are considered as important background information to the identity formation process.

The qualitative research used in this study is primarily inductive and draws upon psychological theories such as dissonance and identity development theory, neo-Gramscian theory, Giddens' globalization theory and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) from disciplines as the humanities, critical sociology, and media studies. It also applies the pioneering methods of Axel Honneth's social recognition theory. Honneth's struggle for recognition theory analyzes youth identity on the social level and will be used to analyze how the individual is involved in actively selecting those individuals with whom they identify and with whom they wish to receive recognition from in consonance with their identities.

Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis: A Qualitative Methodological Framework

Critical discourse analysis is used as a qualitative methodological framework guiding the process of data collection, analysis, and synthesis. It defines and classifies the various cultural and language meanings Canadian-Arab youths encounter in the process of identity formation. The technical elements of this approach will be dealt with in more detail later. Here the conceptual linkage between neo-Gramscian theory and CDA is the primary focus.

As Apple (1996), observes, CDA perceives "human subjects" as active and "...constantly engaged in the negotiation of knowledge, social relations, and identity" (p. 134). CDA draws on neo-Gramscian theory in that it acknowledges that these factors are inextricably negotiated, legitimized, and contested towards the achievement of particular political goals serving to rationalize societal inequalities. CDA of education and media requires an uncovering of the underlying power relations, institutionalized systems, and policies of society's hierarchal order. According to Apple (1996), CDA of education and

media also attempts to provide students with "agency." The term "agency" is defined as an instrument providing students and teachers with the tools necessary to critically analyze information. This entails that all students receive a comprehensive and holistic education specifically dealing with students' lived experiences and free from media biases. Ultimately, such an education should be applicable, empowering, and relevant to the lived-experiences of all students. Luke (1996) defines CDA as a "political act in itself" (p. 135). By drawing on Gramsican theory, Luke further states that much of today's dominant cultural discourse regarding social inequality arises from historical socio-cultural formations and power relations throughout history, which are extremely relevant to the current lived experiences of society's marginalized. Since the advent of globalization, power struggles between and within groups have been underplayed. Societal struggles have thus become manifest on the global level and are no longer restricted to national boundaries (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Discourse and language in the post-modern, globalized world is differentiated between those having different societal positions, and therefore different levels of ability in managing language and discourse. These arguments form a central aspect of CDA that furthermore calls for the "de-stabilization of all forms of "authoritative discourse" to effectively challenge societal domination, subordination, and inequality" (p. 135).

Research Design

The research design synthesizes an extensive literature review with CDA, grounded theory and a selected range of qualitative analyses, including field studies, interviews, and a comparative historical analysis of the mass media – primarily television coverage (Neuman, 1999). According to Strauss & Corbin (1990), theoretical sensitivity is deemed a critical element in grounded theory approaches where the researcher may utilize literature reviews as well as personal and professional experiences to guide the research process. It is deemed necessary that the researcher despite any personal familiarity or experiences with the research question not assume that their experiences will be similar to that of their participants. Strauss and Corbin (1990) note how professional experiences may provide a great aide to theoretical sensitivity while also potentially blocking the researcher from examining facts or events they assume are "taken for granted experiences." It is thus necessary for the researcher to be cautious not to overlook such experiences, as they may constitute a central practice that might aide the analysis of data. It is important for the researcher to be sensitive to the experiences of their participants and not to assume too much during the research process in order to tease out the differences and variations to be discovered during the data analysis process. Grounded theory is therefore used to identify the abstract concepts within individual Canadian-Arab youth identity formation. The study examines the interrelationships between the conceptual definitions defined. Through the use of in-depth, open-ended interviews, the phenomenon of cognitive/doctrinal dissonance, gender identity, Arab Diaspora, global media perceptions and educational experiences will be explored, identified, and analyzed.

The primary source of this data comes from in-depth interviews and media interpretations of 12 Canadian-Arab male and female students from public and private schools in a large city in Western Canada. The study triangulates the above analyses during the data conception, collection, and analysis processes and uses a technique called "interpretive structuralism" to identify the construction of categories that emerge. Thus appropriate methods are available to describe the content and the form of student, school, and community discourses as they intersect with international media coverage of Canadian events and practices.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research involving ethnographic and historical-comparative research is used to uncover the means by which students' interpretations of the both Western and Middle East media sources influence their gender, ethnic, and religious identity formation. The use of qualitative research is deemed appropriate for the study since as Franz Boas (1943) states, "If it is our purpose to understand the thought of people, the whole analysis of experience must be based on their experience and not ours" (p. 46). Patton (1990) similarly concurs stating how qualitative methods are particularly oriented towards exploration, discovery, and inductive reasoning using information obtained from participant perspectives. This, according to them, becomes all more so the case when the *weltanschuung* of research populations is not well known. Kadi (1999) critiques some of the research methodologies employed by Arab-American scholars' arguing that instead of empowering their fellow Arab-Americans, they have further added to their invisibility. The data to be collected in this study will be used to uncover any trend of socialization towards isolationism among Canadian-Arab youths.

As mentioned, Giddens' works on critical discourse analysis is used as a paradigmatic guideline to construct interview questions in order to uncover the ways Canadian-Arab students' mediate traditional, socio-cultural Arab values and Western secular ones. Kadi (as cited in Saliba, 1999) examines Arab-American scholarship arguing that the "ambiguous positioning" of the Arab-American discourse within racialized discourses such as, ethnic studies, feminist, and legal scholarship has hindered and not aided Arab-Americans in their struggle for representation. In order to avoid this, a grounded theory approach which draws on feminist, anti-racist, and multicultural discourse will be used in conjunction with Arab perspectives on Middle East issues. As Saliba (1999) writes, the main reason why Arab-American experiences cannot be situated within anti-racist, post-colonial, and post-modern debates is partly because the community in its entirety defies the "minority status" category, as they do not consider it to be inclusive of Arab diversity. The Canadian societal context clearly differs from the American one in that the backlash directed towards Arabs and Muslims during times of international conflict involving the Middle East or Islamic nations is much less direct. Hence when Canadian-Arabs do encounter racism it most typically involves more implicit forms. However the fact that Canadian policies towards Canadian Arabs and Muslims mimic much of US policies renders Saliba's work important to consider. Notwithstanding such societal differences, Saliba's analysis is useful to consider when using theories to analyse the lived experiences of the youth in this study. According to her, African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asian groups have successfully entered the discourse on difference. "Arab-Americans," however, are still struggling for "basic recognition and inclusion" and have yet to mediate the differences within their own communities prior to fitting themselves into a cultural theory which would assist in analyzing their lived experiences.

Global Media Interpretations

Both Arab and Western media present their respective and yet opposing interpretations of Middle East conflict through various global telecommunications technologies. Sreberny (2000) demonstrates the significance of the latter within Middle East conflicts tracing it to the free CNN coverage provided to the region during the Gulf War in

1990-1991. According to her, such coverage led to the launching of over twenty pan-regional satellite television channels, now internationally broadcasting world and regional events through "Arab eyes." Among such programs, are Qatar's satellite television channel *Al-Jazeera,* the Saudi-funded *Arab Radio and Television (ART),* Egyptian space channel or Space Net, and Lebanon's LBC. Following along the lines of CNN and other Western-based media sources, many of these agencies have begun 24 hour, breaking news including live coverage and footage of events. According to Sreberny, it is due to globalization, that Middle East news imagery has become too large a range for any type of political censorship. The latter means that this new global media may be "...harnessed for traditionalist purposes," and/or used both to, "... redefine and maintain tradition" (Sreberny, 2000, p. 77).

Sampling Procedure

The research includes non-probability sampling and theoretical sampling both of which are considered appropriate in order to examine the applicability of theoretical debates. As mentioned, neo-Gramsican notions of hegemony and common sense is used in guiding the study's methodology and is used in explaining the processes of identity formation and negotiation among Canadian-Arab students. The study examines the identities of Canadian-Arab students and the research findings will serve as the foundation of subsequent more traditional empirical studies. At this point, however, it is not presumed that the findings can be generalized to a larger group of individuals except to contribute to the broader theoretical debates as one case among many. Instead, I will extrapolate or make modest speculations on the likely applicability of the data to other situations under similar but not identical conditions (Cronbach, 1980 as cited in Patton, 1990). For the purposes of this research, then, extrapolations will be made only to contribute to the specified field by providing qualitative research the findings of which may serve to aide further qualitative and quantitative research and social theorizing. As Strauss & Corbin (1990) note in their discourse on grounded theory approaches, "...the purpose of a grounded theory is to specify sets of action/interaction pertaining to a phenomenon and resulting consequences" (p. 249). They continue stating how such qualitative research is generalizable to "...those specific situations only" (p. 251). The generalizability of these findings is debatable. However, through the appropriate use of theoretical discourse more general claims about the nature and function of hegemony and identity formation may be drawn.

Select informants within the Canadian-Arab community were contacted prior to the study and were aware of their potential participation in it. Research by Waugh, Wannas, & Badr (2000) and B. Abu-Laban, and S. Abu-Laban (1999) demonstrate the appropriateness of non-probability and snowball sampling with regards to the socio-cultural values espoused by the community. The communal nature of Arab society and socio-cultural values has led to the notion that the intrusion of an outsider whether from within or outside the Arab community may most likely be connected to a hidden political agenda which will serve to exacerbate their perceived and skewed societal image in Canada. With the assistance of informants from within the community such as teachers, youth participants, and local leaders B. Abu-Laban, and S. Abu-Laban, (1999) obtained a sample of 62 participants for this study, hence constituting a snowball sampling procedure. With the above limitations and precedents in mind, Neuman (1999) describes how many qualitative researchers use non-probability sampling since they are not intending to generalize to a population but rather to locate information-rich cases to provide data that would inform their particular research interest. Neuman continues, stating, that the researcher in fact may know very little about the population of interest. According to him, qualitative researchers focus less on generalizing to

populations but rather on collecting small cases to be used for clarifying or deepening our understanding of social life/events.

Data Collection

Interviews

This study has used in-depth, open-ended interviews conducted with a total of 12 Canadian-Arab students, 6 females and 6 males of whom have experiences within the public educational system as well as religious/educational establishments. According to Patton (1990), qualitative interviews begin with the assumption that the perspectives of others are meaningful and can be made explicit. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) believe that by gathering descriptive data in "the words of the participants," the interview provides the researcher with the tools to develop insight into how the subjects interpret reality. The youths selected for this study are a mixture of both Christian and Muslims. The in-depth interviews focus on students' identity formulation in terms of their educational experiences, parental socialization techniques, ethno-religious experiences, cognitive/doctrinal dissonance, gender disparities, the dynamics of *Sharaf* or honour, the Arab Diaspora, and their perceptions of Arab and North American media on identity formation. Questions regarding the concepts of honour and shame seemed to meet resistance from some participants specifically the more religious Muslim youths. These youths tended to couch their understanding of the term within an Islamic based framework but seemed to perceive such gender based issues as almost irrelevant to their lived experiences. In any case, these key concepts were used as themes unveiled during the process of research gathering and analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The in-depth interviews were recorded and conducted on two different occasions with the select participants until the information obtained reached a point of saturation.

Rudestam and Newton (1992) note how the qualitative researcher should not rely too heavily on field notes, and instead use them in conjunction with tape recorders. Two interviews were conducted with two private religious school educators from the Christian and Islamic communities were also interviewed on two separate occasions. A variety of qualitative research techniques such as field research, individual in-depth and group interviews were used in conjunction with media commentaries and analyses. Media clips from the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC) and CNN were analyzed and interpreted by all twelve students and two teachers from religious school settings. These interviews were conducted between June 2000 and September 2001. Follow-up communication to ensure the validity of the research data were conducted between September and February 2001. Community leaders from the Arab community were also contacted and interviewed. These leaders include a Christian priest from an Eastern Orthodox Church and an Imam from a Mosque as well as religious teachers from both communities. These community leaders assisted in providing additional background information regarding issues encountered by families and their youth, which complemented the uncovering of important issues not encountered during the in-depth interviews with students. Because of time restrictions and busy schedules of the religious leaders these interviews were conducted on only one occasion. Additionally, two married couples of Arab-Christian and Arab-Muslim descent with children attending public and religious or private schools were interviewed on two occasions to obtain a parental perspective of the socialization processes and challenges encountered during the parenting process in Canadian culture vs. Arab culture. I also drew on my own observations and interpretations in drawing, clarifying, and deepening my understanding of social events during the analytical phase of

this research. In total, I interviewed 20 participants to obtain their understanding of the complex issues involved in identity formation and Canadian-Arab socialization processes.

Media Interpretations

For the purposes of the study, participants were asked to watch a media clip from CNN and one from LBC regarding the recent events concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. According to B. Abu-Laban, and S. Abu-Laban, (1999) globalized mass media may influence the Canadian-Arab community in a twofold manner. They argue that on the one hand, biased media coverage of Arabs may serve to "cement" relations between the old and young while having the same effect on relationships between immigrant and Canadian born and raised generations. Barker (1997) examined the research of Morley and Lewis who conducted a study on youth responses to the global media coverage during the Gulf War in the UK. While displaying humanitarian concerns over the death of civilians during the war, the most rooted responses revolved around the self and its relations to others. According to the research, while some British-Arab students saw the war as a vicious attack against an Islamic country, others deemed the event irrelevant to their lives as they identified themselves as British or "Westernized." Fairclough (1999) holds that the media helps "...build up mnemonic frameworks of definition" from which news events are interpreted (p. 190). Hence for the purposes of this study, Said's (1975; 1993; 1995) work is considered essential as a starting point to an in-depth analysis of Western media sources to determine whether youth perceive, as Said does, an inaccurate documentation of Middle Eastern events, culture, and history on a global level. According to him, such misrepresentation is perceived as a prevalent factor even within the realm of academic scholarship. Said (1993; 1997) argues that many so-called "Middle East experts" within Western-based academic institutions do little more than present and reinforce Eurocentric interpretations as facts instead of Western-based interpretations of events. Middle East-based interpretations and reactions to the global presentation of international events via Middle East international satellite stations have been accessible to Arab communities around the world. Arab communities throughout the world are provided with live and uncensored footage from within the Middle East. This stands in sharp contrast to Western-based media and has, in some cases, served to inflame the isolationist process while reinforcing the "Arab Diaspora." Giddens' (2000) work on globalization may assist in analyzing the latter by highlighting the history and process of globalization and its effects on disparate cultures on both local and international scales.

Translation was provided for those participants whose knowledge of the English language may be limited. According to Sreberny (2000), exposure to Western media perceptions is of critical importance when examining the socio-cultural and political ideologies predominating Middle East Arab nations. According to her, Arabs throughout the Middle East have been exposed to Westernization during the present time through global telecommunications. The latter has provided scores of illiterate individuals with live news and information from a variety of global perspectives. According to Sreberny, this has even a greater impact than during colonial periods when the European colonialists provided only the elite with a quasi-European-based education. Moreover, according to Shaheen (2000), global telecommunications within the Middle East now comprises one of the regions with the highest satellite television programming per capita. Responses to modernization and globalization have resulted in a variety of religious and ethnic tensions, leaving many with little choice but to emigrate to Western nations such as Canada.

Data Analysis

The study demonstrates the identity formation of Canadian-Arab youth in Canada in terms of the conceptual definitions articulated in the previous chapter and which were used as themes and categories to organize the study. The conceptual definitions described above include cognitive/doctrinal dissonance, the concept of *Sharaf* (honour) among both male and female participants, the Arab Disapora as described and defined by Abu-Laban and Abu-Laban (1999), educational experiences, and the ways in which the global media influences youth values and perceptions on the Middle East. According to Lincoln & Guba (1985), qualitative researchers are in a more difficult position to map out the intricacies of data analysis prior to the actual conduct of their "naturalistic inquiry." For this reason they continue, "Not very much can be said about data analysis within the context of naturalistic inquiries" (p. 77). Mapping out the details of data analysis prior to data collection is therefore considered a more complex process than quantitative data analysis procedures. Prior to data collection I could only refer to CDA, and neo-Gramsican theory, therefore making the study inductive but necessarily situating it within a set of key concepts and explanatory categories that informed the study and were made explicit as sensitizing frames or as formal theory for the researcher. These concepts and categories are nevertheless open to revision as part of the research process and in the analysis of texts. In fact, a key purpose of the research is to further the re-conceptualization of the key concepts in light of new research.

Fairclough (1999) investigates the role of intertextual analysis of select media events by participants involved in qualitative research. He argues that such analysis helps shed light on the deconstruction of news and helps identify if such deconstruction can be perceived as directly related to participants' own analysis or if it reflects "...an adjustment to the discourse of the researcher" (p. 194). Throughout the process of intertextual analysis, statements by participants may reflect the participants' interpretation of media events or may mirror the researcher's statements. Fairclough argues that the latter is said to occur when the participants in the research use the discursive statements of the researcher. Conversely, when the participants draw upon their own "life world events" to analyze media, the research collected constitutes an "...ideologically potent, social narrative" (Fairclough, 1999, p. 195). Intertextual analysis is considered critical when examining the ways in which media portrayals of events transform the familial, work, political, and religious activities.

Fairclough (1999) illustrates the ways in which intertextual analysis can be used in the analysis of interview data. Specifically, he examines social-psychological research conducted on "Diasporic" identities such as secular Israelis and English born Irish research participants. Fairclough embraces an interpretive analysis of participants in terms of narratives rather than an analysis of vocabularies used. This process is deemed necessary in examining the process of self-identification. Fairclough provides several examples in which words such as "I" or "you" are used to determine the interpersonal function of language which subsumes relational and identity functions. Fairclough further argues how intertextual analysis of interview data is considered a critical element in linking text to context. According to him, form and content constituted a dialectical relationship in which attention to only one negates attention to the others. Discourse analysis attempts to examine and analyze the relationship and form and content as separate yet mutually influencing each other. By doing so, the researcher is able to grasp the meanings in unity as well as dissecting their discrete entities. Fairclough maintains that the process of discourse analysis is considered a complex one requiring the researcher to engage in social and ethnographic research for long periods of time.

More specifically, according to Strauss & Corbin (1990), grounded theory both requires and provides the theoretical sensitivity necessary for data analysis. Grounded theory allows the researcher to make comparisons and contrasts between the interview data collected. This then allows the researcher to formulate hypotheses, while developing mini-frameworks regarding the conceptual definitions and their relationships with one another. During the data analysis process, the researcher may encounter one idea that triggers other ideas and encourages the researcher to re-examine data and to provide meaning to ambiguous concepts or themes which have emerged. Following the guidelines provided by Strauss & Corbin (1990), the grounded theory researcher must maintain a balance between science and creativity. They further argue that such a balance can be achieved in three ways. First, by periodically stepping back and asking oneself the fit between reality and the data collected. Second, the researcher must also maintain an attitude of scepticism regarding "all theoretical explanations, categories, hypotheses, and questions about the data" whether they come from the making of comparisons, the literature, or from experience" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 45).

Data Coding

After the interview data was compiled, a summary of quotations was prepared for each transcript to isolate the data to the participant's responses. The summary was distributed to some of the participants in order to validate the study's findings and seek additional comment. Such summaries were used to cull unnecessary and redundant use of wording, while attempting to obtain the participants' perspectives, further their input, and to help keep the study goals in focus for the researcher (see Miles & Huberman, 1984). The analytical process included organizing data into meaningful clusters based on the study's conceptual definitions and categories on youth identity formation, before overlapping, irrelevant, and repetitive data are removed. After identifying the data's invariant themes, I proceeded with what Douglass (as cited in Patton, 1990) termed "moving around the statue" or "imaginative variation" of each theme. This process required me to look at all themes from different perspectives in order to further develop and enlarge upon them. In the case of this study, the perspectives were garnered from the participants, their parents, and teachers from both Arab and/or Islamic school systems along with their religious leaders in the Canadian-Arab community. After categorizing the data, I color coded the themes and categories arising from both the open-ended interviews and media interpretations.

Triangulation of Data Sources

In order to improve the validity of the findings of qualitative research, I utilized "multiple data collection methods, data sources, analysts or theories" (Gall, Gall & Borg, 1996) in a process, known as "data triangulation." I employed several research methods and validated and cross-checked the findings of the processed data (Patton, 1990, pp. 187, 244). I treated media interpretations and analyses in conjunction with in-depth interviews in order to illuminate various factors as crucial to the establishment of Arab youth identities. For example, do Arab youth consider themselves to be of a "Diasporic" identity? Although this question was not *directly* asked during the interview process, media interpretations of Middle East conflict served to answer not only this but other equally relevant research questions concerning Arab-youth identity formation in an indirect fashion.

Reliability and Validity

Despite the extensive precautions built into the method, there always exists the possibility of incorrect or biased interpretations being reported. Neuman (1999) defines qualitative reliability as consistency. Interviews, participant observation, and field research should, for example lead the researcher to the same conclusion regarding the participants within the study. Neuman cautions, however, how the nature of qualitative research in its study of events or people evolves over time, hence there is a distinction and even resistance among qualitative researchers in regards to quantitative claims of reliability and validity. Moreover, different qualitative researchers, employing different methods will have distinct results since qualitative research takes place in an evolving context.

Patton (1990) recognizes that the validity of data as directly linked to the trustworthiness of the researcher to whom it is incumbent upon to report any personal or professional biases that may taint data collection, analysis, and interpretation. To minimize this possibility, I documented my decisions, personal feelings, and experiences during each stage of the research process in a journal. Key passages from the journal were used to aide the analysis of the data. Qualitative researchers perceive validity as truthfulness and as such they attempt to create a close correspondence between their beliefs and values and what is actually occurring in the social world that they are examining.

Neuman (1999) argues how reliability is a precondition for validity but cautions how this does not guarantee that the measurement will indeed be a valid one. In other words, a measure may be reliable but not valid. Although the two concepts are complementary, they also conflict in the fact that as validity increases reliability may become more difficult to attain. The latter occurs with constructs that may be perceived as ambiguous (e.g. alienation).

Limitations and Delimitations

The study was limited to an examination of Arab youth identity among Arab Muslim and Christians. Because of this, the research was limited in that it did not include the perspectives of Canadian-Arab Druze and Canadian-Arab Sephardic Jews. The study was also limited in that it refrained from describing the sexual orientation of Canadian-Arab youth. My research with the community since 1996 has demonstrated the degree of sensitivity within the community regarding questions of virginity and sexuality. Such questions served to isolate me as a researcher from the community, and so I avoided issues regarding sexuality.

A third and final limitation in the study related to the fact that I did not decide to examine tensions and struggle between members within the Christian or Islamic communities. For example, within the Eastern Orthodox community a hierarchy exists whereby individuals from certain nations in Africa and West Asia were considered more native to the Eastern-Orthodox religion than others. Moreover the study only examined the perspectives of Eastern-Orthodox Christians. As such, the study's findings may have differed had I interviewed Catholic or Protestant Christian Arabs. Similarly, within the Islamic community members of various ethnicities or Islamic sects are also hierarchically organized. For example, Sunnis may be more welcome than Shi'a Muslims and Lebanese Sunnis may be more welcome than Egyptians. These factors are certainly a major absence in the study. Nevertheless it was a necessary compromise to further the research. Perhaps in

future research others may be more successful in addressing such a social issue within Arab Christian and Islamic communities.

The research was conducted in The Province where the majority of Canadian-Arabs are of Lebanese origin. This may or may not limit the research in terms of the ethnic differences between Lebanese and those of other Arab nations such as Iraq, Algeria, Egypt etc. Consequently, during the process of snowball sampling, I attempted to locate information rich cases from a variety of participants from the Arab world. The research illuminated important and valuable implications for these groups to be followed up on in post-doctoral research and work.

My personal identity and my reasons for conducting the study were questioned during previous unrelated research interviews. However, during the preparation for entry into the field, I feared that Arab-Muslim youth may not wish to divulge information to me because of my Christian background. However during the interview process my detailed knowledge and passion of ongoing Arab perspectives on events such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict seemed to alleviate most youth concerns in this regard. Worries regarding participant involvement hit a climax due to the tragic events of September 11, 2001. Although the data had been collected by September 2001, I was still collecting participant responses to verify my initial findings. I found that once I began these post-data collection meetings, many youths brought up their fears and perceptions of the September 11, 2001 tragedy. Because of my personal interest in the field I was constantly updating myself on the Arab perspective of such events and felt a moral obligation to include participants lived experiences as they pertained to the tragic events in this study and occurring during my research and writing.

Entry in to the Field

Due to the fact that I had conducted research on and worked with the Canadian-Arab community between 1996-2003, entry into the field has already occurred and was greatly eased by my father's wide range of contacts. As such, I approached a variety of Arab Christians and Muslims about my future research and was informed by some participants that because of my father's "great assistance" to them they would be more than happy to provide me with the information necessary. While this may have served to ease the process of entry, it may have also prevented certain participants from releasing sensitive information. I found that participants who knew my father felt at ease to discuss these issues with me, perhaps because my father was also a man who committed several years in service to the community through his work.

Ethical Considerations

According to Patton, interviewing is a trust-based process which can be easily subverted. Patton (1990) describes five key ethical issues as being vital to the success of qualitative research.

1) Promise and reciprocity: Any guarantees made to research participants were maintained. The participants had the satisfaction in the knowledge that they were contributing to a vital area of research.

2) Risk Assessment: How might the interview put participants at risk? In case a participant began to display distress while discussing cultural identity issues, I planned to halt the interview immediately and informed the participant of their right to end the interview or opt out of the research in its entirety.

3) Confidentiality: All participants were given a pseudonym and any identifying demographics which may identify them were changed or deleted prior to conducting any interviews and in writing the final text. Muslim participants were given Arabic pseudonyms while Christian participants were given Western pseudonyms.

4) Informed consent: A written consent form describing the research problem, its purpose and questions, the interview processes, and media interpretations were signed by all participants. The form also stressed the voluntary nature of study participation and acknowledged that all responses would be taped for further study and stated that the resulting data would be used in the thesis and related publications.

5) Any needed advice during the research process as well as oversight for the project as a whole was provided by my supervisor, doctoral committee members, and colleagues.

Part II

The Research

Chapter Four

Hybrid Identity in the Global Arab Diaspora

This chapter examines the reconciliation of Canadian-Arab youths' cultural values, by examining the nature of their hybrid identity formation, and the influence of parents' experiences on youths' worldviews. Arab "Diaspora" is contextualized as the process by which Canadian-Arab youth manage to merge the values of both Arab and Canadian cultures into one hybrid identity and the notion that they belong to both but fit neither culture fully. The findings illustrate how identity representation based on ethnicity or religion may be actively contested by youth. Hence the process of Canadian-Arab youth identity formation is to a large extent informed by youth social interactions within Canadian mainstream society on the one hand, and ethno-cultural and religious socialization on the other. As such three self-articulated categories have emerged. For example, Muslim religious youth prefer to use the term "Muslim" when identifying themselves in social interactions, similarly, Canadian–Arab Christians reject the term Arab in favour of "Orthodox Christians." In contrast, less religious Muslims prefer to use terms such as "Arab" or "Lebanese." I describe the processes, by which youths choose to identify with different categories and the reasons for doing so. I also describe the impact of globalization and Americanization on the parenting Diaspora (i.e. living in and between two worlds not fitting either) within much of the urban Middle East. These processes have ironically made life easier for many Canadian-Arab parents. It has led to increasing numbers of community organizations establishing better organizations to educate and assist newcomers in the process of integration. This has impacted on youth identity in different ways than in past generations making the likelihood of permanent, uninterrupted stay in Canada greater. While the youths in the study expressed great respect for their parents' sacrifices in establishing new lives in Canada, they are also aware of the many challenges and the reason parents may or may not successfully encounter such challenges.

Arab Diaspora

All Canadian-Arab youth participants in this study stated how they understood their parents' political and cultural perspectives. The advent of new technological advances is considered important in bridging the gap between generations of Canadian-Arabs. This is significant, since in past Canadian-Arab generational cohorts, the tensions between parents and children may have been more easily exacerbated by the inability of youth to comprehend how parents' cultural and religious backgrounds were relevant to their individual lives in Canada. The following sections will show the ways in which youth attempt to merge contradictory values in their familial, educational, social, and ethno-religious spheres in the Arab Diaspora and will show how the technological advances have impacted on the Arab Diaspora.

During the interview process, youths were asked to describe their feelings regarding their lives between two cultures and to describe how they choose to identify themselves

during introductions in social situations. They were also asked whether this description changes according to social situation, or periods of international or Middle East conflict. All youth participants were asked how their parents' choose to identify themselves and the degree to which youth can relate to their parents' culture, religion, and/or socio-political values. Canadian-Arab youths of the Arab Diaspora are aware of issues surrounding parents' decisions to leave their country of origin, the adaptation difficulties and pressures of living in Canada, and issues of concern for parents and themselves in terms of living as an ethnic or religious minority in Canada. Arab Diaspora also face challenges involved in reconciling multiple cultural value systems, primarily Arab and Canadian, during the process of identity formation and adaptation.

Values within the Familial Sphere

This study demonstrates an interesting fusion of Arab and Canadian socio-cultural values with respect to familial values espoused by parents and the child-rearing process. On the one hand, parents and their youth do assimilate many Canadian cultural values. Canadian-Arab parents emphasize how Canadian culture contains many aspects worth emulating within their familial sphere and even their nations of origin. They point to Canadian national values such as democracy, freedom of expression, and Canadian public services, such as good education, health care, and social services for the poor. Both youth and parents in the study praised multicultural policy's openness to other cultures/religions. On a more individual level, values such as hard work ethics, youth self-reliance, respect for nature and the environment, and ability to choose from a variety of career paths, are all perceived as positive Canadian values which make life better for Canadian-Arab youth than that of life within the parents' country of origin.

In terms of teaching their youth Arab socio-cultural values, Canadian-Arab parents seem to encounter an uphill challenge due to the secular influences of Canadian society. For both Canadian-Arab Muslim and Orthodox Christians parents, many of the values present within popular culture seem to actively encourage sexual experimentation, consumption of alcohol and drugs, amongst a host of other negative behaviours which are of extreme concern for parents. The struggle to reinforce the positive elements in Canadian culture while rejecting those negative elements within North American cultural spheres reinforces the notion that the parenting process for Canadian-Arabs is a "Diasporic" one regardless of religious background. The following sections will examine these issues in depth and show how parents' experiences and perceptions of change in the homeland impact on youths' identity.

Canadian-Arab Youth Perceptions on Parental Struggles in the Diaspora

All youth participants interviewed for this research project had parents who left their country of origin to establish a new life in Canada (They are first generation Canadian-Arabs). The youth interviewees made several references to how their parents played a critical role in helping them to be proud of who they are and all youth participants described how they felt a great respect for their parents' sacrifices in coming to establish a life in Canada. The nature of Diasporic experiences and the reasons for parents leaving the homeland varied mainly according to the general social, economic, and/or political circumstances within their

parents' country of origin. For example, consider the following comments by Arab-Christian and Muslim couples:

Quotation #1

Melissa and Darrell: We came here to provide a better life for our children. In Egypt, you have to be extremely wealthy... much wealthier than upper class Canadians just to provide your children with a relatively comfortable life and even that is no guarantee that they will find work and live good lives themselves.

Quotation #2

Nadia and Yusef: We left because of the war in Lebanon so we got married here but even for my kids I wouldn't wanna go back.... life there is very hard if you have no money you have to beg on the streets for money to buy food. But here you have social services for the poor, everything is better healthcare is better, education is better, employment opportunities are better. And things there are no longer the same even within these countries in all the big cities youth are trying to copy the bad things about the West the drugs, parties...

The two parental descriptions reveal that life in the Middle East is no longer deemed favourable. They provide economic, political, and even socio-cultural reasons for why life in North America may be now seen as more suitable and even easier. Parents emphasized a common thread throughout. A large part of moving to Canada was based on the foresight that life in Canada would provide their children with better resources for establishing and maintaining success.

With respect to cultural traditions, the notion that the Middle East has been "Americanized" was also echoed by several youth in this study. The following quotation from an Arab Muslim youth, Ahmed summarizes the parental notion on how life in the Middle East is no longer the same:

Ahmed: I can't comment on all of it but on Lebanon I would say yes very much, I went to a private school and I'm not that wealthy but most of the students that went to that school were very wealthy and I can tell easily, upon arrival, that the American culture has greatly influenced the Lebanese culture and the Lebanese way of life... I

mean they're trying to change laws and make things secular, secularize the country and take away religion from all aspects of life and keep it something that you do on your holy day or at home and 'specially the youth 'cause all they see.... they've been watching TV you know and they think the American way of life is all parties and fun so then they go out try to dress like them and act like them and live like them and I've known a lot of my friends you know taking for example parties like crazy or alcohol which is not common you know, in Lebanon or in the villages, that I know.... So yeah I go to Lebanon now and many people say Beirut is just like an American city – right?

The notion that life in the Middle East is no longer the same as it used to be is a strong reason why many in the community do not find it fruitful to return and live for any small period of time other than visits.

However, as the next quotation demonstrates, even short visits can have a powerful effect on the way youth may be able to identify with parents. Nadine an Orthodox Christian female describes her feelings after a summer trip to Z. (her parents' country of origin) and captures the essence of experiences encountered by most if not all, youth participants in reaching a phase in life where they find themselves adapting to their parents' cultural or religious values:

Quotation #1

Nadine: I guess like at first before I had ever seen it...when I... when I think about the way my parents did everything like raise me and taught me and told me where to go and what not to do and all these different things.....Like I never understood it ... when I went and actually seen everything there and lived it for a little while and just came to like understand more what my parents actually did for me by leaving they actually gave me opportunity you know and that they were ...they were trying to give me a future, they could've stayed like they enjoyed staying there you know?

Quotation #2

Ahmed: While I was there.... there was one time where I actually saw several Israeli jets blew over my village and they bombed the village, that was about ah maybe I don't know a few kilometres down so... that experience alone, I mean jets going over us and the whole ground shaking was very influential. And you see the tight security and the measures that they take there. It's really influential and you

really understand or you kind of understand where your parents are coming from…for me my father especially, or the kind of lifestyle he had and how hard he had it and how he actually matured when he was younger so… it really gives you a perspective on life that's really different than what you get here in North America, where generally... people can stay children until past University…

The majority of youth participants in this study understand the choices parents have had to weigh in and in choosing Canada as their homeland, they seem to reach a phase in their lives where such sacrifices are greatly respected and/or appreciated. The first set of comments by Nadine a youth participant, illustrates that although she didn't agree with her parents' initially, visiting their country of origin helped her understand their views. In this quotation, she expresses respect for her parents in the realization of the amount of sacrifice they endured in order to provide her with better opportunities in Canada. The realization of parental sacrifices for their youths was echoed by all participants regardless of their religion, age, or gender. Ahmed's comments describe the amount of war and conflict he saw when he visited his parent's country of origin. His comments show how he came to a realization of exactly what his parents left behind.

Other participants who did not visit their parents' country of origin still demonstrate enormous respect for their parents' sacrifices:

Khaled: like… it all goes back to the parents I guess like that's what I, that's what I think, it all goes back to your parents. Like for example, my dad… he wasn't educated... he came to this country with nothing in his pocket. He worked very hard, like in a, a company like a factory… but because he made the family unit such a strong part of his life, and maintaining the family in being tight and like just together and open and like share everything, we all went to University, like we were, we're five kids…all five of us went to University and ah, and my dad's not even educated you know what I mean? But then you have other Arab families who really the dad and the mom came to this country hoping that it was gonna be a gold mine, and that's what they focused on was…trying to find that gold and it's like they just let their kids slip away.

The above quotation demonstrates that not only does Khaled recognize his father's effort in raising his children as a strong family but he also realizes how other Canadian-Arab families in the Arab parenting Diaspora fail to balance between focusing on material wealth and the proper upbringing of youth. According to the Khaled's analysis his father, unlike others, was more able to maintain a positive cultural balance between becoming successful materially, while also inculcating children with the essential Arab values. The success or failure of striking the right balance in raising children is reiterated by the following quotation from a Christian male who believes the way his parents were brought up no longer applies neither to the Middle East nor to Canada:

Allan: Maybe I guess so... I'm not sure how it is back there so... I don't know what the rules are but I guess I guess how it's gone is that they've really freed up in Egypt... Like you know now people go out, you know like they've really started partying and what not. But back when they (parents) were young, they weren't allowed to do such things. So I think that they're just enforcing what they've learned from when they were young, which doesn't really apply...

Jenny: It doesn't apply there?

Allan: It doesn't apply anywhere...

As the above quotation indicates many of the values Canadian-Arab parents wish to emulate in raising their children in Canada no longer works for parents within the Middle East nor can they be modified to work in Canada. The notion that parents have to learn to adapt their value systems to the various influences their youth encounter in a globalized society and world and seem to best capture the notion of Canadian-Arab parenting Diaspora.

So, Canadian-Arab parents may fail in balancing adaptation to Canadian culture and maintenance of one's own culture. The evidence suggests this failure may be because they may still hold idealized memories of family life in their homelands despite the fact that such ideals may no longer apply. As Khaled's comments indicate, this may also be due to parents' overemphasizing material wealth over the maintenance of cultural and religious values. The following sections will deal with parental upbringing with regards to culture, identity, and socio-political values.

Identity Formation in Diaspora

Identity formation in the Arab Diaspora refers to how youth are able to reconcile the often contradictory values of both Canadian and Arab cultures in order to arrive at some happy medium in which they freely interact within and between both cultures *while not fully fitting into either.* In order to arrive at some understanding of where the participants found themselves in terms of their own identities, I asked all youth participants how they would identify themselves and how their parents would choose to identify themselves in various social situations. Parental socialization and exposure to their religious and ethnic communities over the years of childhood is one of the primary and key sources by which youth learn to accept Arabic socio-cultural values and interact within Arabic circles.

The following quotations taken from less religious Canadian-Arab Muslim youth participants reveal how the extent of identity disclosure varies according to the situation. The representation of identity differs according to the degree of social interaction with one's religious community. The youth in the following examples have expressed throughout the interviews how they have a strong religious orientation but that they do not regularly attend mosques or community activities. These examples demonstrate that if less religious Canadian-Arab Muslims are in the social company of non-Arabs, then responses of identity

disclosure would result in a disclosure of one's ethnic origin as opposed to disclosing oneself as Muslim. In social interactions with other Arabs, the identity disclosure may go on to greater detail of one's religion or town or origin.

Quotation #1

Khaled: .so we're all Canadian, ok? But we're also a multicultural country and people sometimes just wanna know what everybody is made up of, I would say usually, I'm Lebanese and it's not even me who would say that sometimes, most of the time the people you're talking to ask you where are you from? ...but they wanna know originally where your ancestry is from... and that's where you mention Lebanese so you never mention religion but sometimes yeah you know another Lebanese person and he's like ah "so you're from Lebanon?" and I'm like "yeah" and he's like "you too" I'm like "Yeah" and all of a sudden say you wanna know this person more what else can you ask them? You ask them what town in Lebanon are you from? And he'll say yeah "I'm from so and so town" and then ok and then they might tell him you're a Muslim? Are you Christian or what? You might say Muslim or Christian, that's pretty much, that's it... there's no more of those kind of questions you ask then it's ok let's hang out and get to know each other. But nobody really claims their religion when they get to know each other at all.

Quotation #2

Yasmine: you know I guess I say I'm Arab when they ask me I don't go and right away identify myself as a Muslim...because that's not my culture. That's a religion. I separate culture and religion in different categories...

The responses of the above youth differ from the following responses of more religious Arab-Muslims. For the youth above, mentioning religion in response to identity questions resembles the manner by which most secular Canadians feel about religion (i.e. that religion is a private matter and should therefore be left up to the individual and that it should not necessarily be disclosed unless the situation calls for it). These responses stand in sharp contrast to the responses of other Arab Muslim youths who come from a more religious orientation.

Quotation #1

Zeinab: If it's a Canadian I would say I'm a Muslim Canadian and if it's an Arab I'm a Palestinian.

Quotation #2

Ahmed: Well my identity itself obviously is gonna be the same, the way I represent myself is different primarily for a couple of reasons… the first point is that I don't really establish being Arab as something significant I mean it's the language …is Arabic right? But I mean the people I mean….regardless Islam… for me, from a Muslim perspective, as long as you're Muslim, you're Muslim right? But if I'm for example with a Christian group I'm gonna establish myself as a Muslim but if I'm like with a Muslim group who's Pakistani or something or some different place, it doesn't…. I mean…. they know I'm Muslim, so I don't really have to affirm something like this… and therefore I don't wanna go out and say I'm Arabic… why create a split?

The two participants in the above quotations, had throughout the course of the data collection, expressed a higher degree of religiosity in terms of mosque attendance and religious community activities throughout the study. These responses demonstrate that identification with Islam was considered of greater importance than ethnicity. The comments from Zeinab who wears *hijab* reveal how it is easier to state one's religious affiliation when speaking about identity with Canadians. She states that in the company of Canadians she would identify herself by her religion most probably because she is visibly a religious minority. In contrast, when in the company of Arabs she would choose to disclose her ethnic identity as her religious identity is obvious for Canadian-Arabs regardless of their religion. The responses of Ahmed indicate that revealing one's ethnic identity as being Arab may actually be counterproductive to his relationship with other Muslims. In his case, Muslims of non-Arab descent may be considered closer friends than Arabs of mediocre Islamic religious affiliation or those of non-Islamic following. Thus as the previous two examples illustrate, for more religious Muslim youth in this study, religious affiliation, takes precedence over ethnic identity regardless of situational context.

For Canadian-Arab Christians the main reason for identifying religious identity seemed to be due to people's lack of knowledge about the existence of Christians in the Middle East. The term Arab, albeit be used by some of the Eastern Orthodox Christian participants, does not seem to represent the way they would prefer to identify themselves. The majority of the Christian youth (four out of six) reported regular Church attendance and ethno-religious community interaction. Both male and female Christians revealed their identities as Christians but this identification was not indicative or their degree of religiosity:

Quotation #1

Allan: Well it's (Arabic) part of... it's part of my culture ... I mean even though we're not Arab we're Eastern Orthodox like we speak Arabic in that we read and write it.

Quotation #2

Nadine: I identify myself by first saying I'm Eastern Orthodox...

In the first quotation Allan, points to the fact that although Eastern Orthodox Christians speak Arabic, they're not "Arab." The second quotation demonstrates that although Eastern Orthodox is not a nationality, Nadine chooses to introduce herself as such. This would seem to provoke questions regarding what the term "Eastern Orthodox" means. In fact, the majority of Christian participants felt the need to correct false assumptions regarding their religious identity.

Tanya: ... so they just ask me and I tell them I'm Egyptian and they ask me "so what's your religion... So I'd have to clarify for them like I clarify and say like "no I'm Christian." And then they tell me "wow that's kinda weird."

The following response from a Sunday school youth teacher Sandra and Allan (Eastern Orthodox Christian) demonstrate that the lack of knowledge regarding the religions in the Middle East by many non-Canadian Arabs is somewhat frustrating for them:

Quotation #1

Sandra: There's this idea that in the Middle East, or in Africa, there's no Christians, (laughs) but I would like to remind all people that Christianity stemmed from the Middle East that Christ was actually a Jew ....

Quotation #2

Allan: I'd say well if you read in the Bible where was Egypt and where was Jesus? Like where did it start off from, where did the religion grow from if it wasn't the Middle East? So why would you think that churches wouldn't be there?

Many participants in this study echoed the view that North American society is by and large influenced by Judea-Christian values. The fact that many North Americans, despite their exposure to Christianity, demonstrate little knowledge or understanding of the presence of Christians in the Middle East was perceived as a clear indication on the need for more societal awareness regarding the history of the Middle East.

Canadian-Arab Youth: Dealing with Diaspora

The majority of the participants in this study clearly recognized that there was a transition stage in reconciling their hybrid identities. The stage with the highest degree of vulnerability came earlier on in life or when attending schools with very few people of similar background or cultural heritage. As youth grew older or began identifying with others of the same age and from the same culture, the process of cultural identity reconciliation becomes greatly eased. Consider the following comments regarding on youth identity formation while growing up:

Quotation #1

John: ...in the transition from my high school to University um I didn't see them (old school friends) as much? ...just in school, right? And that's why I probably developed. Initially it started with people from the Church, and I just, I would say it's still equal yeah but the challenge was definitely there... I think in high school, I was never ashamed to be whatever I am. I was one of the only Arabs in my junior high ...high school and there was never a problem with it really. But when I started you know University and started to develop relationships with more Arabs I just felt more happy to be Arab.

Quotation #2

Ahmed: Well actually I went to ...school which is a bilingual school so I like learned Arabic language from elementary. Generally growing up here your desire to learn the language when you're growing up is a little influenced so I wasn't that keen on learning the language. Initially my parents would encourage it but later on when you learn that you have your own identity and you don't feel like you need to assimilate then you realize that the language is very important and plus as a Muslim, Arabic language is particularly important because that is the language of the Quran so that encouraged me greatly to pursue the knowledge and the language.

As these two quotations show, reconciling between two cultures Arab and Canadian is indeed considered a process. Factors that may make the hybrid identity reconciliation process more difficult, according to John's remarks, is the feeling one is alone or the minority in a school especially if this is combined with little interaction with parents' ethnic or religious community. But as the second quotation by Ahmed indicates the reconciliation of cultures in the identity process was still difficult for the youth *despite* attending a bilingual English-Arabic school with others of the same ethnic heritage and religion. According to his response, the youth felt keener on learning the language when it was a personal mission for example in his desire to learn more about religion rather than feeling pressurized by parents or the school to "assimilate" into the respective cultures. The following quotation illustrates the recognition of the identity transition and the factors which made it easier:

> *Khaled …but I could tell you know when I went to junior high, Grade seven that's when everything changed 'cause I went to school that had a very a large number of Arabs and it had lots of Arabs that I knew ever since I'd been a kid from outside of school. I went there but it was just such a difference it was like you know I had twenty people who I've always liked ever since I've been a kid, now we were in the same grade, in the same school, and we walked around together and we went out together. It was like we don't need anybody else now, and …it became where you didn't' care about what they thought about you now.*

Khaled's quotation shows that when surrounded by students who have had similar experiences in growing up between two cultures specifically Arab and Canadian, the identity process is eased considerably. This experience was the case for the overwhelming majority of Canadian-Arab youth participants. Social interactions with other Canadian-Arabs in the educational system seem to insulate participants from feeling excluded and for the majority of youth provided them with a sense of self-confidence.

Thus far I have examined the nature of Arab-Diaspora in respect to how youths identify themselves and the influence of parental lived experience in this regard. The findings demonstrate how youths regardless of the way they identify themselves value knowledge of the Arabic language and socio-cultural values. Yet on a cautionary note, the findings also reveal how participants' accommodation of traditional Arab cultural and religious values must be self-initiated. Youths must be able to interact and identify with similar "others" in terms of religious and cultural values independently of parental pressures. The degrees to which youths accommodate Arab cultural and religious values seem to depend on the nature of these interactions and the effectiveness of reducing dissonance. Thus categories of identity (i.e. Arab, Muslim, or Eastern Orthodox) are rejected or accepted by youths and are usually in consonance with youths' choice of social interactions.

The majority of participants also recognized their parents' struggle in attempting to adapt to Canadian society while inculcating their youths with religious and cultural values. Youths and parents were cognizant that traditional Arab culture as it was when parents were growing up in the Middle East has been dramatically influenced by the concurrent processes of Globalization and Americanization. As a result of this, increasing numbers of Canadian-Arab parents are foreseeing their futures and the futures of their grandchildren as ones which will entail lives in Canada with full knowledge of the remote likelihood that they will

return to live in their countries of origin. This forces many Canadian-Arab parents to re-evaluate the suitability of their traditional cultural values for fear of losing their children's respect for their Arabic culture and religious heritage. Consequently, the majority of youth and the parental couples interviewed described the importance of ethnic community organizations in aiding parents in these socialization processes.

In most cases, for Muslim participants religious and ethnic organizations would be considered one and the same. For example, the Canadian Islamic Center which holds a mosque and a school, provides Arabic classes and many North-side public schools have bilingual programs. Consequently, the notion of taking Arabic seemed to be encouraged by parents and seemed eased by the educational and religious infrastructure available in Canadian-Arab neighbourhoods. Hence Canadian-Arab Muslim youths of a religious leaning, seem to have actually taken up learning Arabic as a language to a greater extent than Christian youths which for Muslims is important as Arabic is considered the holy language of the Quran.

Quotation #1

Ahmed: Well. I was, yeah I did have a very strong desire throughout like elementary, junior high, high school there was never anything given that was one thing…I went to the Mosque I learned a little bit about the religion every now and then like we'd go they had events ah speakers on Fridays, if I didn't have school you know, we'd go there and weekends maybe go play, we used to play hockey and soccer in the gym and then sometimes they'd give us half an hour a little lesson or tell us stories, Islamic stories with some kind of moral to the story here … little things like that.

Quotation #2

Aisha: … yeah when I was in like the elementary school system, Grade one my parents put me in a school that was bilingual like Arabic and English, so I took Arabic and English from like Grade One to Grade Six and then they encouraged me like in the program. And of course I wanted to be in there too because you're with your friends and you're with people that have more similarities like you don't feel as outside…Do you know what I mean? Especially like when you're young and stuff and then in junior high I took it through all the way too, Arabic and stuff I think it was until grade eight- I can't remember…

As Ahmed's comments illustrate parents seem to place a great emphasis on language which is learned by interacting with the ethno-religious community at the mosque. Some parents like those of Aisha's enrol her in bilingual schools in which there is an opportunity for learning Arabic. Canadian-Arab Muslim parents seem to inculcate their children with the notion that language is an important way of ensuring that one is able to function within Arabic culture and Islamic religious activities.

Participant responses among Christian youth revealed that while the Arabic language is not important for any specific religious reason, youth value its knowledge. Many youth also find regular Church attendance a good place to maintain and/or enhance one's knowledge and fluency in Arabic. Consider the following responses by Christian youth:

Quotation #1

Tanya: Yeah actually most Sundays you know, I go to Sunday school and right after we have like the wanna have it on Fridays now with the older youth group so they're trying that out as well. Like every month we'll have a youth meeting and Abouna's (Father) there like our Priest to talk about like you know just different subject that we're interested in. So actually yeah it does really help a lot.

Quotation #2

Michelle: well growing up I wasn't that interested but now that I'm older I kinda want to learn more about it...but growing up, not really. The only times I probably did anything Arabic related or learning a little bit about the language was in church when they try to teach you Arabic for a little while.

The above response indicates that Church attendance is to a large degree associated with learning the Arabic language and cultural customs. Unlike the Muslim community, the Arab Christian communities in The City have not organized educational facilities to the same extent. Whereas Muslims have had the option of learning Arabic in the Islamic school for longer, Christian parents only have the option of taking their children to learn the language within the religious setting or through attendance of Sunday school after Sunday Eastern Orthodox masses. As the responses of these youth indicate, Church attendance provided a means to learn not only the Arabic language but also much about the Arabic culture itself.

Effectively Dealing with Hybrid Identities

The nature of the Arab Diaspora in Canada among both Christians and Muslim Canadian Arab families is a complex one influenced by the desire to preserve traditional

values which are themselves in flux. Canadian-Arab parents must learn to accommodate new Canadian values while re-evaluating the relevance of traditional Arab cultural and religious values to their lives and the lives of their youths in Canada. The importance for parents of adequately addressing and articulating the significance of Arab ethno-cultural and religious values for their children is deemed especially critical for the survivability of such values. Parents use their ethno-religious communities to assist in this process. On a parallel note, youths are also independent beings who may actively reject or accept these parental values. Due to the rapid changes in the Middle East cultures as a result of globalization, most parents choose not to return to the country of origin for a short extended period of time and hence involvement in ethno-religious community life and participation becomes even more important. Youths are also cognizant of the dramatic changes in their parents' country of origin. The following section examines youth perceptions on their hybrid identities.

Participant responses reveal that there are many aspects of being a hybrid identity that Canadian-Arab youth seem to be proud of. The participants were asked whether they would be able to go back and live in the Middle East. Most of the participants felt that they now belong to a culture which is neither East nor West, neither Canadian nor Arab. The majority of participants felt that while they would love to visit the Middle East and learn more about their ancestry but they would not wish to live there.

Quotation #1

Patricia: See I think as the years go by, I become a little more Canadian, but at the same time to balance that out I, I hold just as strongly to my origins. So I'm not sure... well I tell them I'm not sure what I am anymore. My parents are Egyptian, now I'm in Canada, I have Canadian citizenship blah, blah, blah and I was really ambiguous about who I am. Now I find that as the years go by I'm more comfortable being a Canadian Eastern Orthodox female you know it's just... it makes more sense as time goes by.

Quotation #2

Allan: ... I do I like the mixed culture between Canadian like the openness of Canadians and the respect from like the Arab world so I like the mix.

Quotation #3

Zeinab: Well I've been raised here, and I just got used to the way we live here now, and the way... even with Arabic culture here is different from Arabic culture there. We kinda mixed in Canadian culture with Arabic culture and made our own culture.

The responses of these youth reveal how as Canadian-Arabs their identities constitute a mixture of both Arab and Canadian cultures. The identity reconciliation process involves taking aspects of both Arab and Canadian cultures and mixing them into one culture. Some of the responses such as the following two indicate that the hybrid identities of Canadian-Arabs while seemingly complex are actually easier to reconcile than the ambiguous multicultural identity of Canadians.

Quotation #1

John: ... Like I'm glad I'm Arab rather than um like you know how Canadians are a melting pot? I'm glad I have something to look back on… that's where I come from – you know? I just feel I'm better that I know where I'm from…what I've done, what's been happening in my past.

Quotation #2

Jack: I think Canadians have lost their identity and it's, it's to the point where you know, it's so multicultural that it's there but it isn't? And I mean compared to America where they have this propaganda like seriously, they learn a lot of information which is just based on Americans and American views and so kids grow up thinking "oh America is all that. "I think the Canadians should just be more…Like Canada as a whole should stop trying to focus on other cultures. Like it's okay that we focus on other cultures and try to integrate them but not specific cultures and see Canada more as a whole…I mean in the States every single morning they get up and they use the national anthem…and you know it's the way they're brought up from birth until when they die: America, America, America… and that's probably the most frequently used word: America. I really think Canada should just go more towards the truth with the attempt of being diverse but focusing on Canada like the States. I know more about the States now because of the news and stuff…

The above response by Jack illustrates a sort of frustration with the notion of Canadian identity. His response seems to show that although he is comfortable with having a

dual identity, he is not so sure of what the second half (i.e. the Canadian side of him) represents. The fact that there is so much emphasis on diversity as stated in the first quotation demonstrates a feeling of being lost in a sea of ethnicities. Moreover the fact that Canadian multiculturalism focuses on diversity seems to be against what the second youth sees as the truth. This seems to suggest that according to this youth's view, while Canadian authorities proclaim multiculturalism, it is in reality more assimilationist and hence the statement "...Canada should just go more towards the truth." His statements also reveal the Canadian discourse used to evaluate national policies.

Discussion

The fact youths choose to identify themselves as Eastern Orthodox Christians, Muslims, or in reference to their ethnic origin reveals the different terms preferred by them. In spite of these self-articulated categories, Canadian-Arab youths cannot escape their socialization into both Arab and Canadian cultures at least for a large portion of their lives as youth and young adulthood. The responses of youths however indicate they have achieved comfort in the hybrid nature of their identities.

The findings discussed throughout this chapter reveal that Canadian-Arab parents and their youth determine independently how best to mesh the Canadian and Arab cultural values in order to become full participants within Canadian society. According to the findings besides the ethno-cultural and religious communities there are very few if any, Canadian departments, institutions, or structures which can help ease this transition process. Although one's ethnic communities exist and provide youth with the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the religious and cultural values of their parents they do not directly help in reconciling or incorporating these disparate cultural values with Canadian secular, liberal ones. The most direct method of learning how to effectively encounter hybrid identity values in the Diaspora seems to be vicariously by interacting with others from the same cultural and religious background. Through the process of experiencing a series of acceptance and rejections between and within each culture, youth are able to judge what they wish to preserve as part of their identities and what they do not. Additionally, global technological advances (satellite, internet) currently represent a socializing medium by which youths learn about their cultures and will be described in Chapter Seven.

For parents, the process of moving back and forth between two cultures differs from those of the youth. Most of the parents in this study were born and raised in the Middle East. Their experiences, therefore, differ from that of their children. Parents who have successfully learned the "Canadian system" of doing things while maintaining their cultural values are therefore deemed successful at living as minorities in Canada. However, many of these parents find they never fully fit in Canada because of their minority status nor do they fit in within the Arab world because of their incorporation of many aspects of the North American way. Canadian-Arab youths, on the other hand, are put in a situation where they realize they are different from the majority culture at a young age. They slowly learn to identify why and how they are different through their social interactions in education and with their ethnic and/or religious communities. The identification with one's parent's culture is much greatly eased through vacationing in the homeland but the existence of a large community of Canadian-Arab youth in the neighbourhood, ethno-religious communities, bilingual and religious based schools, and access to satellite media have also served to greatly ease the process than for past generations. The Diasporic experience therefore is never fully resolved and remains an ongoing process of conflict and reconciliation which is managed

most appropriately through the negotiation of values between and within cultures which are themselves enduring ongoing change.

The ways Canadian-Arab youth identify themselves vary. Both Orthodox Christian and religious Muslim youths tend to reject the term "Arab" and prefer to use their religious affiliations instead. Conversely, less religious Muslims tend to identify their ethnic identity although religion is still considered of primary importance. These different self-articulated categories reflect different lived experiences. Religious Muslim youths in the study tended to live and attend school in Arab enclaves in which the population of Arab and Muslim Canadians was high in both neighbourhoods and schools. Eastern Orthodox youths and less religious Muslim youths lived and attended schools in ethnically diverse locations. Hence youths' hybrid values obtained from their lived experiences in familial and ethno-cultural spheres are confronted by experiences with others who hold opposing values, and even misassumptions and stereotypes regarding Arabs in general. These dissonant producing experiences will be described in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

Reconciling Cultures and Hybrid Identity

Youths actively contest and evaluate values and information they receive from both Canadian and Arab cultural spheres. Youths' choices to accept or reject certain cultural values from these cultural value systems, are to a large extent influenced by parents' lived experiences and friends from within the educational system with whom youths compare themselves. Parents of religious Muslim youths send their children to religious-based educational or bilingual establishments and hence reconciliation of cultural values may be greatly eased as youths are surrounded by others who share similar values. By contrast, parents of less religious Muslim youths and Eastern Orthodox Christians resided in ethnically diverse locations and attended the public educational system. As a result, experiences with cognitive dissonance were greatly increased for these two groups as they had fewer individuals with which to expand the frame of reference used to validate their ethno-religious identities. This will be described in greater detail throughout this chapter.

Cognitive dissonance is used in this study to contextualize the processes and mechanisms used by youth in identity reconciliation. This chapter, therefore, describes the study's findings with regards to youths' varied experiences of cognitive dissonance. The discussion will also include an examination of the various sources of dissonance experienced by different youths and the methods they employ to effectively encounter such experiences. Sources of dissonance for all groups regardless of religion or degree of religiosity, seem to be related to encountering stereotypes, misinformation, and opposing values in their interactions with others.

For Canadian-Arab religious Muslims, situations of dissonance usually involved the misrepresentation of the Islamic religion in media, education, and society. Less religious Muslim youths experience dissonance within the educational system due to the same reason as their more religious counterparts but additionally experience dissonance in their interactions with the local Islamic community. This is mainly due to the fact that these youths encounter dissonant producing cultural values and expectations within the Islamic community. Finally, Canadian-Eastern Orthodox Christian youths' cognitive dissonance took different forms among male and female participants according to their level of social interaction with Canadian-Arab Muslims. Eastern Orthodox Christian youths also experienced dissonance in majority cultural settings where they encountered misassumptions regarding the existence and/or legitimacy of Christians in the Middle East. These differences have important implications for policy makers as they reveal the diversity in the seemingly united experiences of Canadian-Arabs. The findings of this study with regards to these experiences with dissonance and their impact on youth identity will be described in greater detail throughout this chapter.

Cognitive Dissonance Theory Revisited

According to founder Leon Festinger (1967), cognitive dissonance is an uncomfortable state of tension resulting from the contradiction between one's belief system and one's actual lived experiences. In order to reduce cognitive dissonance individuals may avoid experiences that cause dissonance or increase experiences causing consonance. Mustapha (1987) has used the word "doctrinal dissonance," to refer to the specific religious experience of dissonance among Muslim Canadians.

According to past research, such as that of Mustapha's research with Muslim Canadians in the educational setting, it may appear that because of their Islamic religious affiliation, Canadian-Arab Muslim youths, experience more dissonance than their Christian counterparts. This line of reasoning may be supported by a variety of arguments such as the fact that Islam is a religion which has been misrepresented in the media and in 2002-2003 attributed as the main source for inciting the violent terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001. The findings of this research support the fact that outright discrimination against Muslim students by educators and fellow students within the educational setting is in fact a major source of cognitive dissonance and is thus in line with Mustapha's and B. Abu-Laban, and S. Abu-Laban's (1999) findings. Yet interestingly enough, Canadian-Arab Muslims of religious affiliation may not experience as much dissonance during their school years as their less religious counterparts because of their enrolment in Islamic based educational settings. Canadian-Arab Christians experiences with dissonance seem broken down according to gender lines whereas Canadian-Arab Muslim youth dissonance is broken down according to degree of religiosity: religious and less religious youths.

Dissonance is reduced for religious Muslims, the majority of whom live in Arab enclaves. Less religious Muslim youths share with their religious Muslim youth counterparts the experience of dissonance within educational and societal institutions and settings in which Islam is perceived as a religion of terrorism and Middle East conflicts as a result of such religious doctrines. But while religious Muslim youths eliminate feelings of dissonance by attending religious activities and surrounding oneself with other Muslims, less religious Muslims experience an increase in dissonance because of such activities. Less religious Muslim youths feel the values of the Islamic community may not always be in line with the way in which they define themselves or their religion.

For Canadian-Eastern Orthodox Christian males the dissonance in religiously mixed Canadian-Arab interactions usually involves not sharing the same religion as Canadian-Arab Muslim males and, therefore, feeling left out. Political discussions are avoided and Christian males usually feel intentionally excluded by their Muslim counterparts for being perceived as Western allies. For Canadian-East Orthodox Christian females, the feeling of cognitive dissonance within the community revolved around the notion that females because of their Christian religion were judged by their Muslim counterparts as being too "Westernized" and therefore more morally loose than Muslim females. For both Christian females and males, the dissonance experienced in the larger Canadian secular society arises as a result of the common false assumption that they are Muslim.

Sources of Cognitive Dissonance for Canadian-Arab Muslim Youth

Sources of doctrinal dissonance for Arab Canadian Muslim youth, both less religious and religious and within public educational settings, revolved primarily around the misrepresentation of Islam or Arab culture and history, of current political events and conflicts, and the demonization of symbols of culture or religion such as Arab flags on t-shirts or the wearing of a headscarf by Muslim females. The state of cognitive dissonance for Canadian-Arab Muslim youth did not seem to vary significantly among Muslim males and females. This may be attributed to the fact that both Muslim males and females feel that they are constantly put on the defensive by their teachers and fellow classmates to the extent that their experiences and means of avoiding dissonance are quite similar. The following response depicts the nature of dissonance experienced by an Arab-Muslim male due to the representations of Arabs within the educational curricula:

> *Jenny: Do you have any examples where it was in school where you were being taught something that you felt well this is really contradicting multicultural education?*

> *Omar: Well for instance when I recall back to Social 30. In the social book they had a picture of Mustafa Kamal who took over the Turkish the Ottoman Empire after the war with the British. And they claim him as a hero... I personally look at him as a traitor... There's also the reason why they gave the Israelis Palestine how the world system became with the Jews how they came into Palestine why they gave Palestine. But if I look back at history they say they gave to stop being prosecuted (sic) around the world by different races, they said after World War II they wanted to give over Palestine, so that's it for them. But they don't mention how they promised Palestine in the Balfour. They promised Palestine to the Jews so how much is that? ... A thirty year difference. It was done before World War II.*

The above response by Omar depicts the dissonance experienced by him at the description of historical figure Mustapha Kamal as a hero in his Social 30 class and also the lack of an accurate historical documentation on the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The notion that the youth was able to perceive Mustapha Kamal as a traitor and accurately critique the history of the partitioning of Palestine from a historical perspective reveal the fact that through his interaction with his community, parents, and Canadian-Arab friends he has gained a reference of knowledge which clearly contradicts what he experiences at school. Thus, interaction with friends and family allows youths to solidify a frame of reference or knowledge which helps them deal with dissonance. The importance of Canadian-Arab friends or fellow students in providing a reference point to relieve cognitive dissonance is exemplified clearly by the description provided by the following statement of religious Muslim-Canadian youth:

Zeinab: My junior high was in the Catholic school so most people didn't understand (the hijab). My high school was mostly like ah 60 per cent Arab so it wasn't that bad there. And most people that weren't Muslim were like went to school with Muslims since Kindergarten so they understood everything as well.

Zeinab was then asked about any outright misrepresentation she experienced within the educational setting or curricula. The following is a description by her of one of the documentaries she viewed as a student in University:

Zeinab: In history class we're watching a movie about Egypt and all of it was in a little village where they didn't even have cars they but they had their donkeys and this is what they want...what I feel they want people here to see. There were people (students) who were really ignorant and who would believe anything they watched and then there were others who were like what's the point of this movie?

Zeinab's response demonstrates how the educational setting, in this case at the University level, seemingly promotes a biased view of the Arab world. By showing a documentary on Egypt, which only depicts transportation by donkeys versus automobiles, according to this participant, educators are reinforcing faulty stereotypes without providing any real educational knowledge. Although the youth recognizes that only those who lacked knowledge on the Middle East would actually believe the documentary wholeheartedly, the fact that such biased documentaries are actually aired within the educational setting seems to have a negative impact in terms of increasing cognitive dissonance among Canadian-Arab youth and possibly creating tension in their relationships with others within the educational setting. The youth in the following section expresses the heightened cognitive dissonance weeks after the attacks on the World Trade Center and how being in an Arab-dominated community atmosphere helped reduce the feeling of tension:

Zeinab: That's the sad part and they're (Arabs and Muslims) getting it pretty bad. The stuff she hears on the South side where there's hardly many Arabs over there I mean there's pretty much diversity in ethnic background whereas in the North side, people on the North side it's full of Arabs and Muslims I never heard nothing. Like as soon as I get to the North side from University I feel like I'm home.

The ability to reduce cognitive dissonance by Arab-Muslim Canadian youth in the study is mastered according to the participant's commentary by being surrounded by others of the same or similar cultural and religious background. More religious Muslim youths (as the participant above) attend the Islamic school and lived in social enclaves dominated by Arab-Muslims. These youths are surrounded by others of the same religion and culture. This significantly reduces the amount of dissonance experienced throughout elementary and junior high school as experiences of misrepresentation of religion and culture are eliminated.

The presence of other individuals who share similar religious lifestyles and culture, therefore, eases the process of identifying with Arab cultural norms and the reconciliation of opposing values of Canadian and Arab cultures. Indeed, several Arab-Muslim youths were actually enrolled in schools such as The United School or Western Provincial School which had higher levels of Arab attendance and lived on the North Side of the City where the large majority of the Canadian-Arab-Muslim community resides. In some cases, such as the example by the following youth enrolled with a majority of non-Arab Canadians, the process of effectively dealing with dissonance was slower. The process of alleviating cognitive dissonance therefore, seems to be related to positive reinforcement of such values among friends and/or teachers within the school. However, whereas less religious Muslim youths may experience dissonance attending schools with a diverse ethnic student population, religious Muslim youths feel their values to be under critical threat in such an environment. Contrast the following comments of both religious and less religious Canadian-Arab Muslim youths:

Quotation #1

Khaled: Ok …honestly I've always…growing up I went to a school made up of mostly strong, strong majority of Canadians...kind of background of people... very, very little Arabs in the school like every now and then there would be one or two other than me in all of the elementary school I'd say three hundred something…and back then yeah it was kinda, I have to admit yeah I was younger and it's like you feel like an outsider and it was, it wasn't, it didn't feel good… I'm not saying I had too much problems but no, it didn't feel good. Like you almost wish you were kind of like everybody else. Everybody else was so much, you feel like you're different and I don't know if I could say I wished I wasn't Arab but at the same time it's not like I was walking around very proud either.

Quotation #2

Ahmed (Religious Muslim youth): Um yeah because as a Muslim, ah Islam is not a religion. Islam is a way of life and so if I'm going to be brought up in a Muslim environment that's one thing but if I'm brought up in an atmosphere where all the people around me are not Muslim, and they don't act like it, and everything I value as a Muslim they do not value and they're the majority it's much easier for me to assimilate to them rather than having them assimilate to me.

Ahmed had experienced education in the parents' country of origin for a short period of time and is reflecting on the reasons why he would have preferred an Islamic

educational system to a public educational system if he were living in Canada at the time. His comments illustrate the perceived damaging effects of secular mainstream culture in public education to his Islamic identity. These comments seem to hold some truth as reinforced by the following comments of the less religious Canadian-Arab Muslim male Khaled, for whom the process of reconciling the cognitive dissonance due to the cultural clash became even more pronounced when invited to social gatherings of non-Arab friends from that school. Take for example, his following description of how Islamic dietary restrictions became a source of doctrinal dissonance at a birthday party he attended:

> *Khaled: …And you have a lot of things like just every time they'd have pizza right… you gotta make sure they don't have ham in it, if I'd get invited to a birthday party, ah at someone's house and they order pizza it's always pineapple, have a pineapple pizza, and I remember you know I'd always be the one saying I can't eat it, it's ham…and whatever… and people would never understand and even me I didn't really understand, if you asked me why can't you eat pork? I would just say I'm allergic to it or I'd just say I'm not allowed because of my religion…but it's all I could say, it's all I knew…*

The above response reveals that although the male in question was aware of the dietary restrictions in Islam, he was not clearly aware of the reasons for it and thus experienced dissonance. The dissonance was alleviated by mentioning that he was allergic to the ham or that it was prohibited by his religion. As these examples demonstrate, not having others with knowledge of the history, politics and religious aspects of Arab culture, is clearly a source of cognitive and/or doctrinal dissonance among Canadian-Arab Muslim youth.

The following example comes from a Muslim female of a less religious leaning and illustrates her experiences with dissonance from interacting with Arabs of the local Islamic community.

> *Yasmine: Well I found that when I came to Canada, Arabs here are very different…they come from a very…. I don't know… that's why I didn't really like hanging around with many Arabs here? Their mentality is backwards in a way? They're not very open you know, they come back from the Middle East over here with the same mentality. You can't do that in order to survive you have to split it up so I didn't have too many Arab friends until I met some who are more open-minded…I found that here they seem to go a little to the extreme than how they would behave back in V for example… You know and that's not what I am and that's not what I want to be associated with. They're very different …so why bother hanging out with people like that?*

Yasmine had lived in various ethnically diverse nations. Her comments illustrate how the local Islamic community is not considered in consonance with her value system for

this reason she chooses a few select friends of similar ethnicity and/or religion to socialize with.

All Canadian-Arab Muslim youths in this study claim that their parents were involved in inculcating their children with knowledge of Arab politics and history as well as religion due to the common misrepresentation of Islam and the Arab world in Canadian society and education. Because of the dominant and politicized Lebanese Muslim community in The City, religious Canadian-Arab Muslim youth in this study described how most, if not all, of their friends were Muslims. As described, less religious Muslim youths described how their friends were of a variety of religious backgrounds but included many of Arab ethnicity. Muslim females who are visibly Muslim (i.e. wear *hijab*) are often asked questions about the meaning of the veil and thus like their male counterparts, feel more at ease with other Muslims and Arab Muslims especially. These findings are in sharp contrast to Eastern Orthodox youths who have different experiences in terms of their social interactions.

Sources of Cognitive Dissonance for Eastern Orthodox-Christian Youth

The main sources of cognitive dissonance for Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youth with non-Arab Canadian social interactions seemed to revolve around faulty assumptions made by non-Arab individuals that all Arabs are Muslims. For Canadian-Eastern Orthodox Christian males there seemed to exist some inter-religious tension whereby they did not feel at ease entering Canadian-Arab Muslim circles. Canadian-Arab Christian females on the other hand, expressed how they had Muslim friends however their Muslim friends' misunderstanding of Christianity led them to think they were Westernized and therefore not as strict with their Arab cultural norms as Muslim girls. The following examples depict some of the dissonant experiences Canadian-Arab Christians have had with Arab-Muslim and non-Arab Canadians.

The following statement by John a Christian male was in response to a question regarding common misconceptions he has encountered as a Canadian-Arab Christian by non-Arab Canadians.

> *John: ...but a lot of people automatically assume that I was...ah not Christian that I was a Muslim and I just kind of explained to them that you know, there's more than one religion in those countries, then I told them there are Christians there too.*

In the following section John goes on to describe how similar self-identification of religious background as Christian becomes more complicated in situations involving Muslim counterparts:

> *John: Ok I find that some people, some of them in University some Lebanese, who are Muslim and I heard cases I don't know from where but I heard cases where they've got ah where they've faced*

prejudice because they're non-Muslims...and so I just back away. I don't want them to know who I am or what religion I am so I just kinda use the Fifth Amendment or whatever. Just so I don't encounter any prejudice. But that might be rare cases that's happened to me I don't know.

As the above example shows, John identifies himself as a Christian in situations with non-Arab Canadians while choosing not to disclose his religion in encounters with Arab-Muslim counterparts. The self-identification process differs in the two situations in order to reduce the cognitive dissonance or state of tension resulting from the expectation of misunderstanding or misrepresentation of his identity. In the first case with non-Arab Canadians, John wishes to clarify that he is of Christian background perhaps to gain more understanding or to avoid the negative stereotypes associated with Muslim Arabs. In the second case, with Muslim individuals, he chooses not to disclose his religious background for fear of discrimination by Muslims due to his Christian heritage.

In the following example the youth participant questioned about identity prefers not to use the term "Arab" when identifying himself:

Allan: No, I've never hidden it. I've never been embarrassed ... well ...I wouldn't say not been embarrassed but because I'm not Muslim and Arab, usually the two go together, people are like "what are you?" Are you some kind of hybrid or mixed culture or something like that but I've never... sometimes I guess I wouldn't say I hide it but I don't go and profess it like all the other Arabs would.

The youth participant above describes although he has many Muslim friends he also describes the difficulty of fitting in circles in which Arab-Muslim males dominate:

John...they never prove themselves as anything but a gang sort of a thing where you're forced...they force it on you and drown you in it. Most of them are not like that...'cause I do have Muslim friends, ...But I find that a lot of the time they are like that, they're not accepting of other religions, they don't see how anybody else could think any other way and I think that they're even their views in a study of their own religion are really not that good, so they need to learn a little bit more about themselves...

The above response demonstrates the tight-knit nature of Arab-Muslim male social circles. The Christian male in the above example demonstrates how he feels that as a non-Muslim, an all Arab-Muslim circle resembles a gang where you as a Christian have Islam imposed upon you and "you drown in it." This is especially important because in almost all social interactions in all-Muslim circles there are many Islamic phrases which when stated require a certain response based on Islamic tradition. Because Christian males may not know these responses or may not use them at all, they face rejection from their Muslim counterparts. Moreover many Muslims may feel a religious obligation in teaching Christian

males the basic tenets of Islam in a proselytizing manner which Christian males strongly resist.

Similar to Christian males, Christian females in the study reported that many non-Arab Canadians, on hearing of their Arab ethnicity, would assume they were Muslim. Where Christian females and males did express different experiences was in the nature of social interactions with Arab-Muslims. For example, females of Christian heritage did not report feeling left out by their Muslim counterparts but instead stated how they felt their religion was misrepresented among Muslim friends as being westernized or encouraging loose behaviour such as drinking. The following comments by a Canadian-Eastern Orthodox female reveal her frustrations at the tendency for Arab-Muslims (who are unaware of the beliefs and values of Christian Arabs) to lump all Christians as espousing similar beliefs and values. Instead, she states how she does not consider her Christian beliefs and value system to be similar to those of Westerners or Western Christians. The comments reveal how dissonance may be experienced by Christian Arab female youths because of the stereotypes held by Arab Muslim youths.

Consider for example the following statements from this participant currently a University student: (female Christian)

> *Tanya: And I hate the fact how a lot of … there are a lot of Arabs who are also ignorant about Christians … they think oh their religion is like really Westernized and it's not! Like Eastern Orthodox is really traditional it's really strict ...'cause like Arab Muslims like see us like the Christians here and the Westerners here and they're different than like Arab Christians – they're very different for us, like culture is really important and our religion is really traditional and strict so it's not the same.*

Tanya's above perceptions regarding the stereotypes held by Canadian-Arab Muslims of Arab Christians are reinforced by Khaled's following statements:

> *Khaled: Like I'll go to a wedding a Christian wedding…and I'll see for example everybody's drinking, girls, guys, and they're pretty young, and they're drinking to the point where they're drunk and their parents are right there and it's like ok you're not against drinking but should also know that when a girl gets drinks they get stupid and they do things.*

The following quotations are from Muslim males regarding the political affiliation of their Christian male friends or acquaintances in Canada. As the first quotation shows there seems to be a perception among Muslim youths that Canadian-Arab Christian males lack general knowledge on what the political situation in the Middle East is. Both quotations touch upon the notion that political affiliations of Arab Christians in the West seem more aligned with Israeli and North American perspectives than with an Arab or Muslim

perspective. This perception seems to maintain the divides between the Christian and Muslim communities in this research.

Quotation #1

Ahmed: I believe the Christians in the Middle East are much closer to the Muslims than the Christian guys I know in the West. Christians in the West, I don't really know if they're even aware of the situation that's going on there. But the Christians in the Middle East are ***very aware****. In, In Israel my impression is that their affiliation is with the Muslims more than it is with the Jews. Here for sure it's with the, the Jewish people.*

Quotation #2

Omar …my best friend, one of my best friends is a Palestinian Christian, his political view, is bad, it's bad…it's really bad he doesn't have that big of a view, he lives on the Israeli side and they have Israeli passports…he'd just ignore the topic so we just figured not to talk about the topic around him. 'Cause you can see he gets nervous around the topic.

The above comments seem to imply that Canadian-Arab Muslims have had encounters and friendships with Canadian-Arab Christians but that, by and large, the socio-political values espoused by Canadian-Arab Christians do not coincide with that of Canadian-Arab Muslims and hence deep political conversations are usually avoided. Consider the following comment by Allan in response to a question regarding why he chooses not to get involved in political discussions with his Muslim friends:

Allan: I just got really tired of talking about it and it's …it's on the religion topic which is a touchy subject as well …'cause anything you sorta say is gonna be wrong. Anything you say …whether you say that they're (the Palestinians) oppressed or whether it's just been waiting to happen or if you say that they should just give them this or give them that… You're just gonna be wrong and it seems like that that it'll be a slander especially because I'm not Muslim.

Jenny: Okay. So you don't like to get into it because you're not Muslim?

Allan: Yeah 'cause it seems that I'm gonna be attacking …because I'll never have the right perspective …

The above exclusionary treatment offered to Arab Christian males partially serves to explain why Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youths do not associate themselves with the Arab category nor do they keep up to date with satellite media from the Middle East.

The following comment coming from two different Canadian-Arab Christian females further illustrate how although they do engage in some political discussions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the issue is considered bordering on discussions of religion and should therefore be treated with caution. The first quotation is in response to a question posed to the participant on why she thinks Arab-Christians do not engage in many political discussions regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:

Quotation #1

Tanya: They're (Arab-Christians) concerned but the thing it's like… in Palestine like you know, Christians are like a minority like there isn't very many at all…they (Muslims) have …like it kinda comes down to like religion somewhat.

Quotation #2

Michelle: Like I have other Muslim friends but rarely have I ever actually talked about opposing views because we know that once we do start talking about them we… there's no end to it and you know there's no point in trying to fight with each other…

Canadian-Arab Christian females in this study displayed more knowledge and humanitarian concern regarding the Middle East conflict. They also reported more Canadian-Arab Muslim friends than their male counterparts. However, like male Christians, these females also thought that discussing the political situation in the Middle East would eventually open the discussion towards some kind of religious debate and should therefore be avoided. Conversely, Arab-Christian males seemed to be more likely to avoid group friendships with Arab-Muslim male groups altogether for two reasons. Firstly, for fear of rejection or denigration based on their Christian heritage and, secondly, because they generally are less interested in learning about the major issues or key players in Middle East politics since for many it is associated with parents' painful memories of discrimination in specific Arab nations.

Arab-Christian Perceptions of Arab-Muslims

The perceptions of Canadian-Eastern Orthodox Christians regarding their Muslim counterparts in this study mirror many Western stereotypes regarding Islam as a religion. Explanations given by Eastern Orthodox Christian youths regarding the Middle East conflict or the attacks of September 11, 2001 seemed to point to the notion that interpretations of Islam tacitly approve of terrorist attacks in its name. Such rationalizations seem to relieve the dissonance experienced by Christians as their affiliation with the Arab world may serve to inevitably link them to a region which breeds terrorism. Consequently, by distancing themselves by attributing terrorism to religious interpretations of Islam, Christians are able to reduce the dissonance they may experience. Both Christian Arab males and females echoed this view as shown in the following remarks:

> *John: But like for Muslims I'm not exactly quoting but umm it's more of like you know somebody killed you, you kill them back. Or something like that…*
>
> *I: Like an eye for an eye?*
>
> *A: Yeah*

The following quotations were in response to a question asking why Islamic groups commit terrorist acts:

> *Quotation #1*
>
> *Michelle: … mostly I would say the religion tells them to do it and the different interpretations of it. I guess because everybody has different interpretation of it. There's Muslims that don't really believe in fighting and there are ones that are right? It depends more on the interpretation of the religion.*
>
> *Quotation #2*
>
> *Jack: From what I understand it's ah… religious belief? That those who commit suicide for religious beliefs or the greater good of an*

organization will be honoured in ah the Second Coming? And so for them it's more religious than anything.

The research findings with respect to religious and less religious Arab-Muslim youth and their experiences within the educational setting seem to reinforce those of Mustapha's doctrinal dissonance finding. Events concerning the Middle East are usually interpreted in mainstream media sources from a naïve perspective by which "terrorist acts" are equated with Islam. Teachers with little or no knowledge of the history of the Middle East conflict or Islam as a religion, often times find themselves ill-equipped to deal effectively with the inaccuracies regarding the region or the Islamic religion. Consequently, religious and less religious Arab-Muslim youth in this study, whether male or female, encounter much dissonance because of the feeling that they are constantly placed on the defensive with respect to their religion. This defensiveness may therefore play a role in interactions with Eastern Orthodox-Christians. With respect to Canadian-Arab Christians the majority of females freely interact with others of the same ethnicity regardless of religion which as mentioned stand in stark contrast to Arab-Christian males. Males often report feeling on the defensive when entering social circles with Muslim males and therefore avoid such situations to achieve consonance.

The findings described in this chapter demonstrate the diversity within Canadian-Arab culture. Hence youths experience dissonance for different reasons and in different social circles. Muslim youths must constantly justify a central aspect of their identity (i.e. Islam,) to friends and acquaintances who are non-Arab leaving them to either avoid such interactions altogether as religious youths do, or interact with those of similar views as less religious Muslim youths do. Eastern Orthodox youths feel the need to justify their existence as Christians in the Middle East to non-Arab Canadians while justifying their distance from the West and Western Christianity to Muslim Arabs. For all three groups: Eastern Orthodox Christians, less religious and more religious Muslims, interaction with others of similar value systems seem to reduce feelings of dissonance. Educators in multicultural settings should therefore be aware of the cultural differences within ethnic groups especially during times of conflict when sweeping generalizations are often made.

Despite the difference in sources of cognitive dissonance Canadian-Arab Christian and Muslim youths must learn to interact within their parents' culture in addition to the larger mainstream majority Canadian culture. Parents attempt to familiarize their youths with the culture, religion, and language by enrolling their students in bilingual or Islamic-based schools and through the attendance of religious activities at the local Mosque or Church. Religion and religious socialization seemed to be primary and active ingredients in identity reconciliation.

Throughout this chapter, the misassumptions, stereotypes, and opposing religious values held by others of Canadian-Arab youths' culture or identity were actively contested by them. This and the fact that youths independently choose which values to maintain and which to discard are increasingly influenced by the advent of globalization's media and internet technologies Indeed for many Canadian-Arab parents global media and enhanced community organizations and programs seems to have made the process of adaptation in Canada easier. These changes have thus begun slowly altering the perceived relevance of

traditional gender values such as honour and shame. This will be described in greater detail in the following chapter.[2]

[2] These cognitive dissonance findings, must be taken in light of the specific situation in which these participants were studied. The majority of Arab Muslims in The City are Lebanese who live predominantly on the North side. This community is highly politicized because of Lebanon's history with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and more recently because of the large numbers of Lebanese who have arrived in recent years (since the early 90s till the present time) from war torn regions. Moreover, negative sentiments or perceptions of Arab-Christians from this group may also be attributed to the parents' experiences with 1982 civil war in Lebanon in which Christian Phalangists allies of Israelis at the time, were responsible for the massacre of 1,800 Palestinian Muslims living in Lebanon. Similarly, Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youth in this study the majority of whom had parents who came from Arab nations, such as Egypt or Sudan nations, have experienced prejudice as a result of the various anti-Western, anti-Christian rhetoric of Islamicist groups. Many of these groups expressively espouse the persecution and the killing of Christians who are seen as allies of the West. Christian deaths in these nations go largely unpunished or under-punished and therefore remain a sensitive point for these Christian communities. Many of the parents of these youth reportedly left their nations of origin to avoid such conflict and heartache for their children. Much of the knowledge these youth then have regarding their Muslim colleagues and friends comes from a painful or biased perspective and closely resembles commentary in Western mainstream media sources.

Chapter Six

Gender Values in the Age of Globalization

The previous chapters showed how globalization informed the emergence of hybrid identities. Indeed, globalization has transformed the nature of traditional Arab cultural and religious values both in Canada and the Middle East. Canadian-Arab parents and their traditional values are increasingly challenged within Canada according to the way in which youths identify themselves. The findings of this study suggest that globalization and Americanization have also begun to slowly transform the way in which the Canadian-Arab community perceives the traditional values of honour and shame. Consequently, as parents envision a relatively permanent stay in Canada with no return to the homeland, they are also establishing community organizations and programs which attempt to bridge the gap between Canadian-Arab parents and their youths. This does not mean, however, that such values are no longer important. Indeed, these gender roles still play a part in the socialization of youths albeit differently to Christians, religious and less religious Muslim youths.

This chapter examines the changing role of honour and shame in male and female Canadian-Arab youth socialization. Because of mainstream media reports and documentaries on the status of women in Arab and Islamic societies and honour killings, such topics were deemed of critical importance in understanding how youths understand traditional gender values. The findings reveal how the relevance of such traditional gender concepts in the new global era is slowly waning. Moreover, in North America the perception of these gender dynamics qualitatively differ than within the country of origin from which the parents of these participants came. Hence while male and female participants identified honour and shame as central concepts in regulating behaviour of females more closely than males, the relevance of this concept to their everyday lives differed according to the three groups: religious and less religious Muslim youths and Eastern Orthodox Christian youths. Youths have negotiated the importance of honour and shame values in consonance with their ethno-religious values and identity. The responses of community leaders and parents in this regard reveal the ethno-religious community concerns regarding Canadian-Arab males are increasingly of concern for two main reasons: first, because the lack of attention placed on them for years and even decades has led to aberrant behaviours resulting in increasing numbers of males of Arab origin in prisons; and second, because males of Arab ethnic heritage have come under societal and state scrutiny since September 11, 2001.

This chapter also examines how hybrid identities influence youths' plans to share their lives with others of similar hybridity and to transmit these values to their children. The nature of youths' hybrid value system is important in their reconciliation of identity on the one hand and in their making sense of gender values such as honour and shame in light of media representations of their culture and religion on the other. All the youths interviewed expressed how they felt confident they could raise their children with their religious and cultural values with full knowledge of the Canadian way of life. This finding is also important, since despite mainstream media denigration of Arab culture youths, still value

Arab culture and wish to preserve and transmit it. These changes are occurring in traditional Arab cultural values and are associated with globalization.

Honour and Shame Findings

According to past research within the North American context, the concepts of honour and shame have been related specifically to the socio-cultural behaviours of Arab females (Yamani, 1996). Past research findings examining these concepts within North America have shown that female social interactions are to a large extent regulated by the males (brothers, fathers) within Arab families. Canadian-Arab daughters who wish to go out to parties and other non-academic and non-occupational functions have therefore had brothers accompany them to ensure the behaviours of their sisters do not cause shame to the entire family. Prohibited behaviours for females such as clubbing, drinking, smoking, and dating are generally viewed as causing shame to the family in question which loses face to the ethnic and religious communities. This means that parents of the daughters lose respect in the eyes of the ethno-cultural and/or ethno-religious communities for demonstrating a lack of moral upbringing. For a male to commit similar behaviour, while not resulting in necessarily shaming the entire family, would be socially frowned upon but would not be considered as serious as for a female. Traditionally, Canadian-Arab families in the past would feel the necessity of actually leaving North America during the age of adolescence to live in the Arab world for a short time period with the purpose of inculcating their daughters with the appropriate gender behaviour.

This research indicates, however, that while shame is still an important factor in regulating female behaviour, it is perceived by parents as increasingly manageable given the support of local community organizations and parents increasing concerned with regard to their sons. Peer pressure, drug use, and sexual activity among Canadian-Arab male youth are becoming serious parental concerns. These factors in addition to the increasing state attention paid to males of Middle Eastern heritage since September 11, 2001 has placed males increasingly at the forefront of scrutiny from society, the state, and their specific ethno-religious communities leading to necessary changes in their behaviours.

Prior to collecting the data for this research, the concepts of honour and shame were held to be important in examining whether they would influence identity formation among Canadian-Arab youth in Canada and whether they would qualitatively differ in influencing the process for females or males. Questions revolving around these concepts were asked of both male and female participants. Examples of the issues involved in such questions include cultural and parental notions of gender behaviour, religious and cultural restrictions and influences on gender behaviour, whether participants felt that restrictions were placed on their behaviour according to their gender, and what they identified as important qualities in the selection of a spouse for marriage. While not specifically focused on the nature of honour and shame nuances, many of these questions reveal to a large extent the ways in which youths make sense of such traditional gender values in the Canadian context.

The Meaning of Honour and Shame to Participants

I asked participants to identify whether they had any knowledge or experiences of the Arab socio-cultural dynamic with honour and shame in Canada. The majority of participants identified the presence of honour and shame as a dynamic regulating Canadian-

Arab female behaviour in Canada but females (regardless of religion or degree of religiosity) did not seem overly concerned about honour demonstrating that such traditions are interpreted differently. All participants in the study regardless of religion or gender claimed they knew of specific circumstances in their family or elsewhere in which the shame and honour practices still were responsible for regulating female behaviour. As mentioned in the Arab Diaspora chapter, parents' ability to effectively balance the opposing values within and between Arab and Canadian cultures is also critical in helping them effectively encounter the interpretation of honour and shame values within a Canadian context without alienating their daughters.

While the gender dynamics of honour and shame are part of the socialization of both Christian and Muslim males and females it is interpreted differently. As seen throughout this study, less religious and more religious Muslim youths differ in their experiences with cognitive dissonance and life in the Arab Disapora. They too differ in their perceptions of honour and shame. According to the responses of less religious Muslim male and female youths, the honour and shame dynamic does exist and is explained by cultural norms which regulate traditional society. Conversely, more religious males and females both responded to questions regarding honour and shame in religious terms and understandings. For them, living a life in accordance with Islam makes the concepts of honour and shame irrelevant, as a virtuous life would negate the relevance of such socially constructed norms. Less religious Muslim youths perceived honour and shame differently according to gender but tended to use cultural explanations. Males perceived such values as socially and culturally constructed and hence explained it through cultural terms. Less religious Muslim females on the other hand, perceived it as a double standard which complicated their lives. For Christian youths both male and female, the concept of honour and shame are compared and contrasted to gender relations and roles in Canada. Hence the discourse used for or against the relevance of these values is contextualized within a comparison of Canadian and Arab cultures and discourses.

According to the following response by a Christian female, honour and shame values are still considered important to many Canadian-Arab parents. The female identifies how she believes honour and shame actually constitute cultural values as opposed to religious ones and that the parents' level of adaptation affects the nature of the implementation of such values.

> *Patricia: You know it also depends on the family too. Some families, they're pretty lenient they're pretty okay with things? But I think most parents, this idea of pride and honour is still strongly embedded in them so that yeah definitely these things play a part. And even though you know the girl keeps on rebelling eventually the strains become a little looser, the mentality is always there you know and it's culture because it's both Muslims and Christians. You know you get all the language the pure and the not-pure...*

The following quotation by a Christian female demonstrates how life for her seems much more restricted than for her brother.

Michelle: like yeah definitely. Well of course... my Church community 'cause that's as much as an Arab community and that's what they're gonna say right? Especially down here. That's a big concern, like I know for myself and a lot of other people you know you always worry like if you're doing something that is not ... something that most people in the Arab community would accept or even understand ...you know you're always paranoid oh somebody sees me oh somebody like talks about me or stuff like that... and it's definitely harder for women like that's another reason why I guess I rebelled so much from the Arab community and never really wanted to accept it because of the fact that the way they do treat women and the way of growing up even with my brother right? And it just seemed like he was given all the rights ... he was given all the favouritism he was always treated easier and it seemed like it was so difficult for me to move ahead...

The above response illustrates how Michelle perceives the honour and shame dynamics as part of the "Arab community" which she rebelled against. She perceives these values as making life harder for females than males. This dichotomy between Arab and Canadian values systems is an emerging pattern in Christian responses to the honour and shame dynamic.

In response to the same question regarding whether honour and shame exists in Canada, I also asked what participants feel regarding honour killings. In this case I focused on family punishment in the Middle East of guilty females. Aisha a religious Muslim female in the following section describes how much of religious teachings in Islam are twisted by culture.

Aisha: Maybe they don't see it because they're not informed? I really don't think they're informed on Islam because in some areas of the world they aren't and so they believe they have to oh my God... they have to kill them right? But the thing is they don't have their evidence right? Because in Islam you need four witnesses... four so it pretty much makes it impossible like imagine you have something like this: they don't have four witnesses, they didn't come home last night... like it's completely prohibited. Like if there were four witnesses and they admitted it...it wouldn't be like go kill the girl and leave the guy you know what I mean? And then you wouldn't kill them if they weren't married. Like they distort certain things and so like I read in Islam you have to kill the adulterer but oh so I'm gonna go kill my daughter? You don't know for sure you don't have four witnesses, you didn't ask them they haven't been married or they're not married. There's all these conditions that make it impossible so I think it's totally culture like really.

The arguments above demonstrate an Islamic feminist interpretation to issues such as honour and shame and the Islamic perception with regards to honour killings. It also indicates she has examined her religious knowledge about whether the concept of honour killing is justified by Islam. According to her, Islam only sanctions the stoning of two

adulterers (i.e. a couple engaged in sexual intercourse each of whom is married). If the adulterous couple is then further found caught in the act by four witnesses, then the Islamic court can punish *both of them* by death. According to the response by this participant, honour killings of females in the Middle East is therefore not sanctioned by Islam and actually constitutes the committing of one of the most severe sins, that is, murder. Her response indicates that Canadian-Arab youths have access to information to validate what is said about their culture and religion. Her strong religious values expressed throughout her interviews with me are once again used to interpret her understanding of the concept of honour and shame. Hence, religious interpretation of Islam in this instance allows the youth make their own judgment as to whether or not what they view on television or what she hears in society, mainstream media, and/or education.

Consider the following example of a religious Muslim female who states that honour and shame practices do still occur but that it is out of parents' worries for the daughter rather than a concern for the family's reputation being shamed in the community:

> *Zeinab: I don't really know why there's more gossip about the females than males but I do know like parents are more overprotective of their females because they feel that more harm can be done to their daughters going out drinking, you know going out with guys than there could be done to their reputation…*
>
> *Jenny: Right…. So it's more of the consequences that's worse for the woman than the man…*
>
> *Zeinab: Yeah, yeah…I think that's how they interpret it. It doesn't make sense to me because I'm the kind of person that doesn't really get influenced by things that are around …but there's people that do….*

Despite that the female in the above quotation realizes the honour and shame dynamics among families (in which females and their behaviours are subjected to more gossip than males), she perceives herself as firmly grounded in her beliefs and hence not easily influenced by others' cultural values. Hence, according to Zeinab's statements, she does not perceive honour and shame as a problem in her socialization as she believes she is able to resist the values of others who are more likely to be influenced by the temptation to drink or socialize in un-Islamic settings.

The statements of the following religious Muslim female Zeinab also illustrates her use of religion to stress that both males and females are subject to certain the external forces of secular Canadian culture which are perceived as equally serious in Islam for both genders.

Her statements reinforce the notion that practicing and living Islam are seen as assisting one to resist temptations to engage in dishonourable acts.

> *Zeinab: I think that's both ways though men and women are both equally influenced. So as long as you have the knowledge like the Prophet's wife she was like a scholar of Islam …*
>
> *Jenny: Right…A woman can be a scholar in Islam*
>
> *Zeinab: Yeah she was and she was like maybe in her twenties – very young. As long as you have the knowledge, women are just as influenced as men by the culture.*

In the following statement Zeinab clarifies what she thinks honour means:

> *Zeinab: I think it's an honour in a way like, look: why are you talking to my sister? Like if someone wants a date I think in that way? Of course you have an honour it's like she's not there for you? You know what I mean? Like who are you to go to my sister? … but not like okay you're definitely kill you (Laughs) it's an honour, like protection.*

Zeinab's statements illustrate how honour and shame are also seen as irrelevant if one is truly following an Islamic life and that both males and females may fall prey to sins within a culture. Moreover, she contextualizes honour and shame with the male protection over sisters. Zeinab's comments are in stark contrast to the comments of the less religious Muslim female in the quotation below:

> *Yasmine: So as a female it's kinda hard? You have to really watch what you say and what you do – and if you messed up one point or another it's like "oh she did this she must not care about her parents."*

I: Right so they kinda blame the parents for the behaviour of the females…

Yasmine: Yeah whereas guys can get away with anything – it's very – there's a big double standard there … even though in Islam the male and the female are equal. But it depends too it depends on the Arab friends you have like the friends I have are liberal… and we've been brought up the same way pretty much?

As Yasmine's comments illustrate she recognizes the existence of honour and shame and perceives it to be a double standard. Her comments are more similar to the Christian females than to more religious Muslim females as both less religious Muslim females as well as Christian females make reference to the difficulty of coping with honour and shame dynamics. Note too, how Yasmine's comments illustrate the important role of like-minded "liberal" friends and peers. Hence, because she has friends of similar ethno-cultural or religious values, she feels relatively comfortable in their presence and hence honour and shame dynamics are not considered as critical as it would in other social groups. Her statements also illustrate how religious Muslim females described above must also have friends of similar degree of religiosity and ethno-religious community involvement that reinforce their religious interpretations of honour and shame.

Male Participant Views on Honour and Shame in the Canadian Context

Both Christian and Muslim participants in the study agreed that the aspects of honour and shame still play a large role in restricting behaviour in Canada. Male participants, regardless of religious affiliation or degree of religiosity, recognized the double standard in terms of differential treatment afforded to males and females in Canadian-Arab culture. Whereas less religious Muslim and Christian female participants seem to converge on the perception of honour and shame as being a double standard and in making life difficult for females, this is not the case among males in each of the three groups which show differences in honour and shame perceptions according to religion and degree of religiosity. Muslim males both religious and less religious seemed to rationalize the need for honour and shame dynamics. For less religious Muslims cultural reasons for the honour and shame dynamic were used. For religious Muslim males the concepts of honour and shame were couched within Islamic understandings. The less religious Muslim male participant in the first quotation below stated how he would not like his sister to go to clubs or parties that they have experienced because of the possibility of the community branding his entire family with a bad reputation.

Khaled: ...and now I have this other aspect, knowing that if my sister goes some place like that (club) I know being her brother that she is not intentionally being disrespectful to my parents, family and to our honour and all this stuff, but yet if she goes to a place like this she

has a chance that word will spread and the whole community will look upon her in a disrespectful way…that's reality

Khaled's comments reveal his recognition that even if his sister does not intentionally mean to be disrespectful of the family, the act of her going to a night club, in and of itself, would lead to the branding of the reputation of his sister and family. The fact that word would spread quickly, demonstrates the nature of the honour and shame value system. A Canadian-Arab girl who is spotted by others from the ethnic community at the club runs the risk of "getting caught." After this, the gossip network carries the story around the ethnic community and eventually word gets out that the daughter of Family X was caught at Party Y. The mere presence of the female at the club regardless of what she is doing is enough for the gossip to begin throughout the community. Moreover the realization by Khaled that his friends would also criticize his sister's actions seems to be an influential factor in his understanding as he shares his values and understandings of the dynamic with his friends. For Khaled, honour and shame are cultural as they reflect the position of men as dominant. His comments illustrate the sequence of events that would unfold and demonstrates the control brothers should enforce:

Khaled…yet all of a sudden my sister mentions that she wants to go there (club) and I know for one thing this place is full of sex, drugs, and alcohol, another thing I know that everybody… like if one of my friends or one of the Arabic guys knows that she went or pictured her there thinks she's really bad, so how, why would I let her? It's cultural it's just like here like we're living in a society that the man kind of has the ultimate word.

These comments by Khaled while realizing the role of honour and shame qualitatively differs from the following comments of Ahmed who comes from a more religious leaning who analyzes honour killings:

Ahmed: Well primarily I would say that such things as honour killings are discrimination. Honour killing is completely prohibited in Islam. So this is completely culture. On the other hand, I would say that the culture has influenced the religion in many respects and in one respect honouring the family is an Islamic principle. Both male and females are responsible for honouring by probably keeping themselves for example, chaste which is an obligation on both. But as noticeable here, in The City among many Arab families and Arab communities here ah you find that the women are more obliged to be honourable whereas the man can get away with for example, girlfriends and stuff like this and the women are not. But things are slowly changing ah for the worse so that the women also are allowed to have relations outside of marriage, stuff like that.

As Ahmed's comments illustrate, his understanding of honour is couched within his religious values. What is interesting to note, however, is his focus on the worsening moral condition among Canadian-Arab families in The City. According to Ahmed, while men were originally seen as engaging in morally destructive behaviour such as engaging in premarital sex, things are seen as "slowly changing for the worse" because women are now doing the same.

The following quotation below by Jack, a Christian male, demonstrates that although he recognizes the double standard inherent within the honour and shame dynamic in Canada, he does not consider such gender inequality an alien factor in Canadian society. According to his response, social repercussions for a Canadian female who gets drunk at an office party would be similar in terms of gossip by other office colleagues who attended the party. The notion that female behaviour is not socially sanctioned within the Canadian context is critiqued by this male participant and illustrates how his frame of reference to the gender values of honour and shame come from comparisons with the Canadian social context:

> *Jack: It's part cultural and part religious…And ah I think it's culture that pushes it further. I mean religious beliefs are based on interpretations, right? And so, you know each culture interprets things differently and it pushes certain things to extremes…I think wherever you go there's always going to be a double standard. Always, even here….. Like I mean as easy as it's gotten in Canada I mean it's still like socially wrong for a woman to get drunk at an office party… than a man would… and you know, people would say something about that. Like that's a double standard. It's almost the same but at a different extreme.*

As Jack's comments demonstrate, religious interpretation can go either way (i.e. more liberal or more extreme). Similarly, Canadian culture may still contain elements of patriarchy despite the implementation of liberal secular laws to the contrary. The following quotations from John describe how, although he and his friends try to avoid gossiping about the behaviours of females, they still find themselves caught up in it. His remarks demonstrate how generally the notions of honour and shame may be waning in light of the new generation and the view that such gossip is destructive. John, a Christian male participant, makes the distinction between the older generation and his own in gender values:

> *John: Arabs, in general…. Gossip like crazy…but I think it is more the older, the older generation than um some of my friends and we actually look down on our parents when they do it but then we also find ourselves doing it ourselves. I think the older generation does it* ***a lot*** *more, a little more extreme than we are.*

Female Participant Perceptions of Female Gender roles:

The study's youth participants recognize their families have been inculcated with the importance of maintaining honour and averting shame within their communities in the Middle East and also here in Canada. Participants were asked to share their thoughts, feelings, and to share any examples of how honour and shame socio-cultural values have influenced their lives and perceptions.

In the following quotation from Patricia, a Christian female participant explains how if she had the opportunity to visit her parent's country of origin she would wish to visit as an "outsider" rather than as a native because of the cultural demands that would be expected of her. This quotation also illustrates some of the issues surrounding the honour and shame dynamic in Arab culture which are contrasted with the norms and values in Canadian culture.

> *Patricia: I would be interested not to go back and like live as an Egyptian almost. I almost wanna go back and live as an outsider. For example I'm a female, unmarried female (laugh), I'd say fairly young, so I would fit into that "unmarried female, potentially wife," category....you know you don't go around making funny jokes, you're not allowed, you're not comfortable, you're very like, you're very much back to the woman's role, because you are a woman right now, but you don't have the liberties of a woman. So....yeah you just can't be allowed... you can't feel free in expressing opinions, even if you do have the opportunity to do so, they're not really heard. And like the whole unmarried thing just seems to be like...you know you should be preparing yourself for something such as settling down not such as you know, okay career or whatever. There is a goal there and there is a purpose for you. Don't even argue with somebody who tells you that your role is to get married and to have kids. That's not something that you know you don't even want to debate.*

Patricia's comments illustrate how she understands the behaviour/s which would be called into question as a function of her being a young, single female. She lists a variety of honour and shame nuances that she is aware of such as: "not joking around" or "not speaking too much." These behaviours are almost seen as prerequisites for marriage. Such cultural messages then serve to regulate the behaviours of females. The failure to respect and abide by these cultural messages may be taken to mean that a woman does not wish to marry. According to the honour and shame dynamic, this refusal to marry *may* be excused if the female is pursuing higher education or a professional career. However, if there is no valid reason why a woman has not married she runs the risk of shaming her entire family. The shame may be felt on a community level, (i.e. the ethnic community in The City), or it may be felt on a familial level with the extended family members of who may be in the same geographical area or as far away as in the Middle East. The Canadian-Eastern Orthodox female in the above quotation, therefore, accurately recognizes the traditional Arab socio-cultural values as well as the influence of the North American feminist values. Note, in the following quotation she describes how she supports the "Canadian-ized" view that women are able to pursue both a family and a successful career.

Patricia: Well I think, personally as an Arabic woman, I, like… those are two different life paths. And you know you can choose either one and still be happy and feel like you've done something but to me as a matter of precedence, I don't really see it as a one or the other it could be both or it could be one or the other and either way you'll be happy. But in terms of going back like the Egyptian perspective definitely you know they expect you to be successful. Most parents expect that a girl get a post-secondary education. But what she does with it is different you know, you get it, and then you get married, you have to sacrifice a little bit of that you don't go for the drive and then say I'm gonna make it big because you can't. But I think personally it is good to go for the drive and say I'm gonna make it big. It's (laughs) and I think this might be the Canadianized you know view of women right? But…I like… in comparison to both I'm pretty supportive of it.

Patricia's comments above, reveal her assessment and evaluation of Arab and Canadian positions on women. According to her, from the "Egyptian perspective" it is expected that young women obtain post-secondary education, but unlike males, it is also expected that women show some intention to fulfill traditional female roles, to "sacrifice a little bit" in order to get married and have children. The "Egyptian" notion that a woman should work to build and maintain a good family which would mean to sacrifice their careers for their families demonstrates the "either-or" situation many Canadian-Arab women feel they face after marriage. The youth also mentions how she is "pretty supportive" of the Canadian values on women's roles in society illustrating the way in which her hybrid values are used to evaluate traditional gender values such as honour.

In the following quotation Yasmine a less religious Muslim female states how the concept of honour has been marred by human intervention and agendas making life more complicated for women contrary to the teachings of Islam:

Yasmine…in the Islamic religion women have equal rights to men like in fact in the old days they didn't have to change their last names, they could've kept their money if they wanted to, they had all these rights. But again as human kind or human nature they like change things to fit their political agenda or you know they use the word "God" in a phrase to justify their actions like terrorism for example that they're doing it for the, for God kind of thing? So that was um culture taking over, political agenda taking over, because to be a woman and such you're not supposed to do that in Islam you're supposed to have the highest respect and regard for women because she's the most respected person, three times more the credit than the man for being a woman, a good mother, and a wife.

Yasmine's comments illustrate her frustration with the way in which Islam is interpreted for political and social agendas. Yasmine's comments throughout have illustrated her less ethno-religious community involvement, greater participation with others of similar liberal views who are not necessarily of the same religion.

The following comments by an Islamic school leader, illustrate the stereotypes Canadian-Muslim women encounter because of mainstream media disinformation:

> *Dina: And this man calls looking for the School Principal. So I answered and he asked me: "And your title?" I told him the Principal. He couldn't believe it. I told him why are you shocked because I'm a female and a Principal? He said, "No, no." I said, "Ya, admit that." And he admitted that. It's weird, Muslim school and Muslim lady taking care of it. Over the phone he was embarrassed, I told him, "Good. I know. I know that you think that way."*

> *Jenny: So then you take the, do you take an example like that to try to educate?*

> *Dina: Exactly, to know us more. If we are more involved in many areas they will understand us more. They will know that we are nice people, we are not terrorists, we like to live in peace. Wherever we go there are extremists everywhere and in any religion.*

Dina the school principal takes the man's shock and disbelief at her position within the school to educate him that just because she is Muslim does not mean she is oppressed. This demonstrates how Muslim women can and do take leadership positions within the ethno-religious community in Canada and is therefore an important factor illustrating the strong positions many Canadian-Muslim women have in their ethno-religious communities. The Principal in this case encourages others of Arab and Islamic background to enter as many fields as possible to give the opportunity for mainstream Canadians to learn about Arabs.

Canadian-Arab Males and the Changing Nature of the Honour and Shame Dynamic

Comments from parents, youth participants, and ethnic community leaders suggest a new trend in the honour and shame dynamic. According to these findings, Canadian-Arab males are becoming of greater concern to parents because of the possibility of them engaging in culturally and religiously prohibited behaviours such as becoming sexual promiscuous and, most seriously, criminal activities. Increasingly, because of the events of September 11, 2001, males are finding themselves watchful of their behaviour and speech because of the possibility of being labelled a terrorist. Indeed having a son who could potentially be detained for suspected links with terrorist groups could cause shame amongst male youths in society at large. This is significant since now many males are watching their behaviour and speech in their social circles to a greater extent than females. These male responses will also be described in this section.

The following quotation by a mother of two Canadian-Eastern Orthodox males reveals her feelings with regards to the rearing of her sons in Canada and whether if she had females she would have felt the situation to be more difficult:

> *Melissa: I don't really think one can generalize about the upbringing of females as opposed to males anymore. When you look at it boys, boys can get in trouble by older women hitting on them or by them becoming engaged in drinking or doing drugs. Believe me, there are a lot of worries that come from raising sons, similar to and even more concerning than those of females.*

> *Nadia: You know girls smoking and dating are not major issues as they used to be. They're really not. In fact we have a support network for adolescent girls once a week where they can talk about such issues. Parents in the community are showing much more concern now to their sons. There is a large increase in the numbers of Arab young men in trouble with the law and so that's really taking precedence right now. Especially since September 11 because even before then many were already extremely frustrated with what's been going on in Palestine.*

The above quotations demonstrate that while honour and shame dynamics may still play a role in gender restrictions placed on females, parents are increasingly becoming worried about their sons. Nadia's comments above reveal her worry over the anger felt by many young men within the community. One parent describes the increasing concern he has for his sons and how this has seemingly negated his concerns over honour and shame:

> *Ayman: See the way I see it is this. We are parents and it is up to us to raise our children correctly. If the children are brought up with the right morals then there is no worry about such things. Especially now*

because these things seem almost trivial in comparison to the threat of being a terrorist, to the point where I warned my sons never to discuss politics out loud and to be very careful. These things that are out of your hands, is what we as parents must worry about now.

As the above quotations demonstrate, the notion that males are becoming the subject of concern similar to females seems to reveal a new trend in the Canadian-Arab community. Community members are taking steps to find new methods of dealing with these problems. As the *Imam* mentioned to me in an interview: "...we already have in place a religious chaplain to assist Muslim youths in trouble or in prisons there is a need for that and we are living up to that need." Hence the realization among community leaders that their young males are becoming issues of societal concern is evident.

Since the events of September 11, 2001 Canadian-Arab males are increasingly under the suspicions of the Canadian and US governments. As such, many Canadian-Arab males (Christian and Muslim) in this study stated that they have changed their behaviours on both societal and ethno-religious community levels because of the new War on Terror. Indeed, both Christian and Muslim males are feeling their exclusion from Canadian society.

Consider the following concerns of a religious Muslim male who views the War on Terror as equivalent to a war on law-abiding Muslim Canadians:

Ahmed: Maybe a few weeks ago I would have said no ah I feel pretty safer relatively secure ah you know living in Canada but um after Bill C-36 and stuff maybe not. I mean I'm still kind of young right now so....ah I'm not a hundred per cent sure...but for sure indirectly I'd be affected. You know but many people that I know are being affected by it. Bill-C-36 could lead to other bills.... I see the bill as threatening because it allows more power in the hands of people that are low on the chain of government or the police or RCMP they can through this newly established power discriminate, and they can discriminate by the law. Right? See before there could be discrimination and you could have an argument but now you don't have an argument to defend yourself with, right? So they can tap your phones and, and they can do all these things legally right? Under suspicion without any evidence at all which is just complete, **complete** *violation of any human rights and to believe that this is going to help the situation of Canada more and that this will be beneficial more than the, the mistrust of the Muslims in Canada more than the loss of confidence in Muslims in the government of Canada is absurd. I think the benefits of this bill, are completely minimal compared to the effects it's going to have on the Muslim minority here in Canada.*

Ahmed's comments reveal the scrutiny many religious Muslim males are feeling since the events of September 11, 2001. Increasingly, the profile of an Arab Muslim male has led to the societal notion that they could be terrorists or perceived as having terrorist connections. These concerns are increasingly of concern to community leaders who are focusing on educating their members on their rights as Canadian citizens. The following comments by Khaled also illustrate the potential suspicion and exclusion he feels from society and illustrates that while such profiling existed before September 11, 2001 it is increasingly getting worse. His comments illustrate how in effect he feels that his rights as a citizen have been taken away:

> *Khaled: But now you're like, you feel like almost everybody's watching, Everybody. They give you the feeling like everybody believes you're a terrorist 'till proven you're not. Everybody suspects and then another thing I feel is totally like this country is no longer mine now, ...like how can you call a country your home, when every day you're here there's new laws and regulations that you know, - like it does not take a rocket scientist to know - that these are made specifically for you and for your kind of people. Like for example, being allowed to look in our, our mail without even telling us, being able to tap our phones without any kind of notice or any kind of regulations of whatever and being able to detain us for... seventy two hours without even telling us what we're being charged for. And that's specifically that one, maybe that one's not even the worst of them all. Being detained, being detained but that one makes me think more because just me being, looking Arab, I've been pulled over by cops countless times...*

Similarly, Allan who is not Muslim identifies precautions he is taking in his behaviour since September 11, 2001,

> *Allen: Because it's... it's kind of dangerous to be an Arab right now... even if you are a Christian,... people aren't even asking questions now.... They just assume right away and they have that prejudice. Even to the point I guess where I used to write I was bilingual on my resume with Arabic, now I've taken that off. So that I wouldn't have a sort of biased opinion before I apply for a job...I just didn't wanna be discriminated against by somebody who was ignorant and who didn't want to get to know I'm Arab or had some sort of a stand-offish position because there's a lot of things going on right now*

Jenny: Could you tell me a little bit more about the fear going on… what has changed in your behaviour do you think prior to September 11th and post-September 11th?

Allen: I guess we'd be louder and outspoken Arabs before, being Arabic and you know joking around and whatever, now we would be ah we're more reserved and not so loud…just not to draw so much attention to ourselves…Before we didn't care, now we do care…

Allen's comments illustrate that despite of his Christian identity he still seems to fall into the category of an Arab male and hence is seemingly considered a suspect by mainstream society. As such, he has altered his resume as well as changed his social behaviour so as to avoid potential problems during the post-September 11 era.

Media Stereotypes and Afghani Women: an Honour and Shame Dynamic gone wrong?

All participants in the study were asked how they perceived the Taliban's treatment of women in Afghanistan. Because of the events of September 11, 2001 and the increasing coverage regarding the Taliban's treatment of women, it seemed easy to integrate current news issues into interviews to determine how youths rationalize media representations. Participants were asked what they think led to the Taliban's treatment of women. The purpose of these questions were to allow youths to express their cultural and religious views on the media representations regarding women in Islam and women in the Arab worlds. All participants regardless of gender, religion or degree of religiosity felt that Islam's teachings regarding women's status in society in the case of the Taliban in Afghanistan was twisted.

Consider the following quotations as examples:

Quotation #1

Michelle: (Christian female) I guess there are extremists like in all different religions like in Islam in that they take it what those people really have believed and turned it around and interpreted it in an extreme way, and they've made it law you know, like they've turned it around that way the people have done it not so much the religion.

Quotation #2

Omar: (less religious Muslim male): That's distortion of Islam. Why are the women treated like that? 'cause their Islam is so twisted…there's certain people out there, there's certain governments that have twisted Islam to the point where it just looks like a world religion, a brutal religion… like the woman covered up. In our book it says they're covered up to their wrist, their ankles, and their head, with their face showing…that's our religion…and it's not by force it's the woman's choice, Ok…when a woman is told she doesn't go to school, that's wrong. Man goes to school, but woman can't go to school, woman has to cover herself up 100 per cent, that's wrong, woman's not allowed to drive, that's wrong. All these? The Taliban government? The system they're implementing? That's not Islam …that's a bunch of lunatics, to tell you the truth.

As Michelle and Omar's quotations indicate, the way women were treated in Afghanistan is judged by the participants as a distortion of Islam, or as Michelle a Christian participant stated, an extremist interpretation of Islam's prescribed notions on the treatment of women. Such mainstream media representations are seen as stereotyping Arabs and Muslims and misinforming the general public in North America.

Consider further the following assessment of media information regarding women in Afghanistan in which Aisha, a religious Muslim, feels hard-pressed to evaluate the situation due to the fact that most of the knowledge she has been exposed to on Afghan women has been from mainstream North American media: Her comments are in stark contrast to Omar's previous comments and illustrates how her distrust for mainstream media influences the way in which she perceives North American media reports on women under the Taliban:

Aisha: Ok um well first of all as all this, most of the information I know is from the Western media most of it, so, so there again I really don't find ... consider it reliable. but what I, what I have heard of it I would say that the women not going to school or women not allowed to do this or that I think it can be explained in really simple terms like the economy there is very, very bad ...like they have, it hasn't rained there and it's an agricultural economy right? So it's very bad right? So they had a choice just in reality, they had a choice and in a society where it is kind of like male dominated or whatever you know? If you had a choice between sending your daughter or son to school you're probably gonna send your son because he's the one who's gonna support you and your family right? Like just in those simple terms like I would understand why, like lack of resources. I remember before like ah in the summer time I think I was watching on CNN … and the whole like covering up and stuff like this ah I really I don't know …like they say Western media has said that it (wearing the veil) was mandatory for all women. I really don't know if that's true but in some other countries like in Africa, some African countries or even in Egypt and different countries women choose to do it. So ...it could be a choice and it could be just the government is

trying to get um organized so they felt that maybe it was better a lot easier than to decide ...

As Aisha's comments depict, she judges the treatment of women in Afghanistan as complex because the information pertaining to the situation, comes form mainstream media reports on the status of women. Her evaluation, however, is based on her knowledge of the *hijab* or headscarf and its application according to the Quran and the notion that Afghanistan is a developing country. The dissonance experienced by such images and representations, thus, are encountered by her turn to religious interpretation. According to these combined understandings, therefore, the veil is not to be forced on women. Aisha explains the fact that women are not allowed to go to work or school as resulting from economic deprivation. Because Afghanistan is under severe economic strain it is seen as more practical to send the boys off to school rather than the girls. The variations in these comments reveal how Canadian-Arab Muslim youths also interpret their religion in different ways and in consonance with their hybrid identities.

Summary

The findings discussed in this chapter demonstrate that although honour and shame play a large role as gender values in regulating the behaviour of Canadian-Arab females - whether Christian or Muslim - the dynamic as a whole is being perceived differently and is increasingly being replaced with more urgent concerns since September 11, 2001. During the parents' generation in the country of origin, gender values were seen as critically important to resist the Westernization process of large segments of Arab society under colonialism. During the present time parents can no longer ensure that a return to the country of origin with daughters for a few years will ease the process of inculcating these gender values. Instead, the homeland is seen as itself succumbing to the forces of Americanization. This threat of Americanization at a global level has led many parents to rely more heavily on building and maintaining community organizations, projects, and events that will appeal to younger generation and assist them in understanding the parental value system.

Youths' perceptions of honour and shame gender values are diverse. For both Christian and Muslim Canadian-Arab (both religious and less religious), honour and shame represented cultural understandings that actually had very little to do with religious doctrines. But while less religious Muslim and Christian females perceived the honour and shame dynamic to be a double standard, more religious Muslim females and males interpreted these gender values in relation to their interpretations of Islam. In contrast, less religious Muslims tended to interpret the *cultural* as opposed to *religious* significance of such gender values. Christian males as well as females tended to interpret honour and shame dynamics in reference to a comparison between Canadian and Arab cultural values and norms. These different interpretations reflect the way in which hybrid identity values are used to perceive society, the ethno-religious community, and mainstream media representations.

With regards to women's treatment under the Taliban, religious Muslim youths (male and female) interpreted it according to religious beliefs. In contrast, for Canadian-Arab Christian youths, the treatment of women under the Taliban was explained by cultural reasons primarily, and secondly, by extremist interpretations of Islam. Muslim youth perceived honour as cultural, a result of extreme poverty and twisted religious interpretations.

The majority of the male youths (Christians and Muslims) perceived these gender values, as a double standard. They felt it was wrong but thought it happens anyway. Religious Muslim males demonstrated more concern over the notion that females would engage in un-Islamic behaviours such as sexual relations outside of marriage than they did if it were males. Less religious Muslim males explained the phenomenon as natural because of the hierarchy of males in Arab and even Western societies. Similarly, Christian males compared Arabic and Canadian gender values in their understanding of honour and shame. In contradiction to previous research findings, the results of this study illustrate how *some males are increasingly becoming subject to a new type of honour and shame dynamic which is politicized.* This is an interesting finding requiring further research especially since many males of Arab ethnicity and specifically Islamic religion are being placed under increasing state scrutiny since September 11, 2001. The profile of the Arab male has also led to some anxieties and behavioural changes among male youths generally.

All youths demonstrated some understanding of the honour-shame dynamic, the majority of male and female youth also freely expressed their disenchantment with it making it unlikely that they would transmit such values in a similar manner. The majority of youths in the study also expressed their intentions to marry someone of the same cultural and religion. This will be described in more detail below, however, such a tendency reveals an interesting desire to maintain and reproduce the Canadian-Arab cultural values. This desire seems indicative of the high value placed by these youths on the values transmitted by their parents and the Canadian cultural values they hold. This finding demonstrates that despite not agreeing with specific traditional ethno-cultural values of their parents, mainstream media and public disinformation, youths still wish to maintain and not reject their "Arab side."

Marriage Selection among Canadian-Arab Youths

All participants in this study were asked what qualities they would look for in a potential spouse. Participants' commented on cultural selection and the potential life experience of their future partners. Participants also described those characteristics which would be beneficial in raising children, such as sharing the same culture with one's spouse and the ability to speak the Arabic language. The following section examines the nature of Canadian-Arab youth identity in terms of how youths want to carry their lives on with the knowledge and appreciation they demonstrate of their cultures: Canadian and Arab. It demonstrates how on the one hand youths highly value their Arab cultural and religious values while illustrating how these values have been re-adjusted by them to suit the Canadian societal context. On the other hand, youth responses also indicate how the individual they marry must also have experienced life in North America. Canadian-Arab youths unlike their parents seem to have discovered a more effective means of applying, interpreting, and articulating cultural and religious values in ways suitable to the Canadian context.

The following comments of Aisha, a religious Muslim female participant, although already engaged to be married, shows her desire to marry someone who is of similar inclination to work for the Islamic community in The City. The participant has already stated how she and her future spouse wish to help the community and has identified the fact that through their community service and outreach, their children will be involved in the community and thus encouraged to maintain their language, culture, and religion. According to her, their experiences as a Canadian-Arab Muslim couple would be much easier because

they have lived the culture and are accustomed to it in contrast to their parents' experiences as immigrants to Canada. The youth's comments reveal a high level of confidence in being able to better raise their children than many within their parents' generation who are described as having "lost their culture and religion."

> *Aisha: I think so yeah definitely … we wanna live here. We plan to stay here and raise our kids here and really it's because we feel that we can help the community and we want to help the community out so much because our parents raised us here and it was much harder for them because of their Islam and they were immigrants too, so they had it hard, do you know what I mean? Like we're here and Islam is everywhere for Muslims but we're not immigrants …like it's easier for us? And they had it hard and they still managed to do it. Maybe not exactly the way we would do it 'cause a lot of people have lost their culture and their religion …but we hope to stay here and raise our kids. There's the Islamic school there's all these programs, schools with the bilingual programs and there's the community which is very big … these are the biggest contributing factors to all like all of us maintaining everything*

The fact that the majority of participants wished to marry someone of similar lived experiences is important. It shows how that despite the value youths place on their culture and religion, they also value knowledge of the North American way of life. Many participants identified the fact that although they wished to marry an individual who is of the same ethnicity (i.e. Arab), they would not wish to marry someone who has lived all their lives in the Arab world. Take the following examples:

> *Quotation #1*
>
> *Patricia: See I could tell you Arab, Arab that hasn't lived outside an Arab environment that's a "no-no" that is never going to happen ever. I can tell you this summer I gave it a shot didn't work out and it's never going to work out (laughs) …so (incomprehensible). In terms of marriage choices, I would definitely prefer someone who is of Arab origin who has lived outside just because he would understand so much more about me if he did. But to have to someone who hasn't lived the Arabic culture but who can at least appreciate it… that's totally fine with me and yeah definitely religion's a big thing a big part of my life.*
>
> *Quotation #2*

John: Ah...I've dated ah Canadians, with religion and without and Arabs...and just I perceived a feeling inside of me when I dated or had a relationship with a Christian Arab. It just felt a lot better like they are a little bit closer? Between a Canadian and Arab it just feels better when you have someone who has the same values and ah the culture – it feels a lot better. When it goes to the religion, I'd definitely go with my religion 'cause we're not allowed to marry outside of it? But I dated both and I just feel more…there's a lot more feeling with a …with a religious Arab… I don't want somebody who's fresh off the boat, you know?

As the above examples show, the most preferred partner for these Christian participants would be someone who has experienced both cultures but is of Arab ethnic heritage and of the same religion. Both participants' comments reveal that there is a strong desire to maintain one's religion and culture by marrying someone with similar hybrid cultural and religious beliefs because they feel that that person would be best suited to accept and understand them and their life experiences within and between two cultures. However the notion that these youths would marry someone with a similar background was emphasized as essential (i.e. the partner would have to have a similar exposure to both cultures and not just one or the other). The notion that these youths wish to marry from within their culture and religion demonstrates how strongly the feel about preserving the Arab side of their identity. Consider the following example as a case in point where a less religious Muslim youth comments on the consequences of marrying someone who is of the same faith and culture but is too Westernized:

Khaled: I want a more traditional girl 'cause, I think of it this way: it's like I maybe have taken twenty per cent of what my dad gave me up in his heritage, our heritage of our culture, of our traditions, of our world, I maybe took thirty or forty per cent, Of my dad.. Now if I have my kids I wanna try to give them as much as my dad has taught me that I could but the only way I'm gonna be able to do that is if my wife is just as strong as I am…and if my wife is gonna be very Canadian-ized or Westernized then maybe my kids are only gonna get twenty per cent now, and then his kids are gonna get zero like they're lost, that's it their whole Arab heritage is over, destroyed.

Discussion

This chapter indicates that female activity is still restricted in Canada along the honour and shame social dynamics; however, there is much less emphasis on these values and returning back to the country of origin. Instead such a move may be seen as futile due to the rapid cultural changes occurring in urban Middle East capitals. This Westernization or "Americanization" is happening everywhere including in Canada and is sometimes viewed as

a reason why parents emphasize integrating their youth in the ethnic community in Canada at an early age so as to allow children to feel grounded with the knowledge of "both" cultures. As discussed earlier, parents do this by attending religious sermons, and/or ethnic community events. Participants' responses regarding the shame and honour dynamic indicate that such values are largely shaped by cultural values and not religion. Both Christians and Muslims recognize the cultural gossip network which is part of the honour and shame dynamic but also view the community and their parents' generation as one which still upholds these values that are slowly undergoing change.

The honour and shame findings, regarding Canadian-Arab male youths, is of particular interest since as previous research indicates, males were rarely seen as threats to familial reputations. Although there are no statistical studies comparing the rate of Canadian-Arab youths who end up in prison over the years, the evidence from this research does indicate that it has become an issue of increasing concern to parents, religious and community leaders. Young Arab males are especially vulnerable during the post-September 11, 2001 era and the implementation of several Canadian anti-terrorism bills which target the Arab and Muslim communities makes this a stronger concern. These findings seem worthy of further investigation.

With regards to honour and shame the study reveals that female activity is still regulated by family members such as brothers. Religious Muslim females interpret such behaviour as protection by family for worries over the vulnerability of a female. Christian and less religious Muslim females tended to perceive honour as a very real factor which makes their life more difficult than Muslim males. Whereas traditionally Canadian Arab females would watch their public behaviour more closely the evidence of this research suggests that males are beginning to do the same since September 11, 2001 and the consequent and increasing state scrutiny given to them as Arab males. This has led to anxiety and frustration among scores of Canadian-Arab males who already feel misunderstood and demonized.

The honour and shame findings described in this chapter illustrate the changing nature of Canadian-Arab culture. Not only has globalization provided youths with the technological sources to access events ongoing in their parents' country of origin but it has also impacted upon the traditional values and culture within parents' country of origin. Satellite media and internet technology have seemingly compensated for the traditional return to the Middle East as youths' exposure to traditional ethno-religious values becomes more accessible. Moreover ethno-religious communities are increasing their support for Canadian-Arab families by expanding social services, youth services, and programs for parents and newcomers. The influence of globalization's global media on identity, in addition to youths' reactions to media propaganda and commonsense, will be examined in greater depth the following chapter.

Conclusion

The gender findings of this chapter illustrate that although still important in the differential socialization of Canadian-Arab males and females, the concept of honour has changed in light of globalization and the hybrid cultural values these youths hold. The increasing influence of Americanization in the urban capital of countries in the Arab world has led many parents to the decision to make Canada a permanent home and therefore a return to the country of origin is increasingly seen as unlikely. The establishment of community organizations and support networks in Canada which have begun assisting many immigrant parents and children is also a source of relief to many parents who feel they have organizations which understand their cultural values. Moreover, the ongoing War on Terrorism in 2003 and corresponding Canadian anti-terror legislation profiling Arab and more specifically Muslim males have led Canadian-Arab parents to become increasingly concerned with the behaviour and political rhetoric of their Arab sons who may inadvertently place their families in the spotlight by unwittingly becoming profiled as a "potential" terrorist. These factors combined have seemingly contributed to the slow shift in the perception of the relevance of honour and shame gender values in the Canadian context.

Thus far, I have examined the challenges involved in contextualizing and theorizing the study's main research question involving Canadian-Arab identity. The discussion in Part I put forth issues of concern to scholars committed to awareness-raising of Arab or Islamic issues and cautioned them that many research projects and writing in the field has led to the further subjugation and not empowerment of Arabs in American and Canadian social contexts. The way in which I chose to manage these complexities during data collection was outlined in the qualitative methodology discussion in Chapter Three which described the nature of the research and data collection I conducted.

In Chapters Four, Five and Six of Part II, I examined the study's findings with regards to the Arab Diaspora, Cognitive Dissonance, and Honour and Shame. These chapters illustrated how parents in the Arab Diaspora often feel unable to fully fit into either culture, and that this struggle is clearly realized by Canadian-Arab youths. Youths therefore balance between the messages and cultural values of the ethno-religious community and parents on the one hand and secular mainstream society, education, and the media on the other. The reconciliation of hybrid identity and values leads to different experiences of cognitive dissonance. With respect to honour and shame the study illustrates how such gender values have undergone small but significant changes in light of the new forces of globalization and the current threat encountered by Arab males in the post-911 War on Terror. These changes will be theoretically contextualized and analyzed in Chapters Eight in Part III. Part III will tie the findings obtained in the study to a micro-level of analysis on the individual psychological and social levels to the macro-national and global level of analysis which examines multicultural policies as well as the influence of globalization.

Chapter Seven

Globalized Media Commonsense and Identity

Thus far the study's findings illustrate how globalization both exacerbates and eases the identity of Arab Diaspora. While globalization has Americanized many urban capitals within the Middle East (leaving parents to feel return to be unlikely), it has also created media and internet capabilities that assist scores of Canadian Arab parents in inculcating ethno-religious, cultural, and gender values. This effect has made identity resolution easier for this new generation who feel they have the tools to maintain values of both cultures in line with their fundamental beliefs. For the Muslim youths access to alternative media sources is especially significant. Muslim youth experiences in *relative* comparison to Christian reveal how mainstream media common sense in North America goes seemingly unquestioned by society members and therefore negatively impacts on the dominant culture's perceptions of Islam and Muslim Canadians. On a parallel note, access to satellite media helps these youths further expand their frame of reference on their culture and religion (used to rebuff others' misassumptions) while keeping abreast with developments in the region.

This chapter examines how the selection of values from their familial, educational, social spheres, and ethno-religious communities is to a large extent influenced by global media representations which mediate between these spheres. Hence because Canadian-Muslim youths (regardless of degree of religiosity) watch satellite media and are more in tune with notions of commonsense from the Middle East, they are also more cognizant and in agreement with Arab media perspectives than the majority of Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youth. In addition, the negative media representations on Islam, leaves many Muslim youths feeling that their identity is under personal attack in the media and this is co-related to their view that Islam is increasingly under threat globally. In contrast, Canadian Eastern Orthodox youths find mainstream media extremely biased but do not seem to endure a personal and consistent level of attachment to such attacks or to events in the region. Their hybrid identity seems best reconciled in balancing between a successful life in Canada and the maintenance of their specific ethno-religious and cultural values. However, when mainstream media is perceived by Christian males as attacking their identity they do express agreement with some of the Arab perspectives as well. These differences will be described in greater detail throughout this chapter.

Media Clips

All youth participants in the study were exposed to two media clips. Of the two clips, one was taken from CNN and the other from the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC). I preferred to use CNN over Canadian new television coverage such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) for two reasons. First, it appeals to the largest worldwide audience and carries many common stereotypes, disinformation, and negative images of Arabs, and Middle East cultures which are then responded to, in many Arab media channel

venues. Second, CNN is increasingly perceived as the "voice" of the US administration and military, the policies of which have a direct impact on the Arab world and Canadian-Arabs (as seen in the commonsensical implementation of Canadian anti-terror legislation targeting Arabs and Muslims).

Both media clips for this study were recorded from streaming videos on the internet and then saved on a laptop computer. The clips were played to the participants via Windows Media Player. The CNN clip focused on the funeral of a Hamas leader who was recently assassinated by the Israeli army and the destruction of Palestinian police and security infrastructure by Israeli forces. The LBC clip illustrated the destruction of Palestinian security infrastructure as well as exposing a variety of commentary from individuals like Palestinian Cabinet Minister Saeb Erekat, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, and Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations, Dore Gold. Due to technical difficulties in recording streaming video the audio for the Arabic LBC clip was quite poor. To overcome the problems of audio and the lack of comprehension of classical Arabic on the LBC clip, I translated key comments made by key political leaders and figures. I also asked all participants to focus on the imagery presented by the two media clips and the representations of the situations shown on both clips. This prompted analytical critique and insight from the youth. All the youth interviewed for this research project stated that they either had direct access to satellite media in their own homes or that they knew of individuals who had satellite media. In either case, all students had access to Arab perspectives but not all showed equal interest in such perspectives. The divide in interest was most pronounced among Christian and Muslim male youth participants.

Access to satellite media seems especially significant since the youth interviewed for this study have been exposed to the same information and interpretation their parents and relatives would have been in their home countries and thus have information previous generations of Canadian-Arab youth would not have had. Therefore the advent and increasing use of telecommunications has served to reinforce many of the values and political views shared in the Canadian-Arab community while allowing youth access to venues which would assist them in understanding their parents' perspectives. The Canadian-Arab youth in this study, therefore, can easily access the news from an Arab perspective and thereby witness the public opinion of the people within the region at any given moment and on any given issue or, at least the public opinion of elite Arab public opinion makers. This "global village dynamic" is even more significant during times of Middle East-West conflict such as in 2003 and the new "War on Terror." On the one hand, many Canadian-Arab youths live in a secular Canadian environment in which mainstream media is perceived as instrumental in rallying and shaping public support against them as "Arabs." These youths then contrast this perspective to their exposure to anti-Western, anti-American rhetoric promoting anti-Western/North American sentiment from Arab satellite media from their parents' country of origin in the Middle East. Simply put, this chapter argues that unlike Canadian-Arab youth of past generations, the findings regarding Canadian-Arab youth in this study demonstrate that because of the influx of information they may choose to research their parents' political opinions via satellite television viewing or internet searches after which they formulate their own opinions on certain political situations or events.

Reaction to Media Sources

While increasing numbers of Canadian-Arab families are using satellite and internet technology to access news from their country of origin, youths may or may not show interest in Arab satellite media. The following sections will examine the differences in media interpretations among the youths in the study. Generally, Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youths demonstrated less interest in the details of ongoing events in the Middle East than their Muslim counterparts. These differences are important in informing the identity process and will be contextualized in light of youth perceptions on mainstream North American and Arab media coverage of Middle East conflict.

Perhaps due to my own experiences, I believed that interest in Middle East affairs would be of general interest to both Muslims and Christians. The findings, however, reveal how the perceived damaging effects of media interpretations and representations vary according to the way in which youths chose to identify themselves. Consequently, some youths such as Christian males, showed very little interest and in-depth understanding of ongoing events in the Middle East, in consonance with their identities. In fact, the difference in interest in Middle East politics and conflict seemed most pronounced among the males between the groups. While most of the Muslim males interviewed demonstrated a clearer understanding and a passionate and continuous interest regarding the events occurring in the Middle East, this was not the case with Christian Arab males. This difference seems also to hold true with respect to interest in the Arab interpretation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, access to satellite media, and time spent listening to media coverage of the issues. The majority of Arab Christian males while not in complete unison with mainstream Western perspectives of Middle East events seem closer to Western perspective than the Arab perspective which they seem to perceive as Muslim dominated or further removed from their lived experience. The following quotation reveals a trend of disinterest in Middle East affairs and is similarly reflected among other Arab-Christian males:

Quotation # 1

Jenny: Do you have access to it? Do you have relatives who have it and you get access to it or have you ever seen it at all?

Allan: Not really. I don't really watch it. And ah I guess we do but we don't really watch it – I don't know…

Jenny: Okay. Do you hear Arab perspectives on the war?

Allan: I don't really understand it so, no.

Quotation #2

Jack: I don't know about my parents I don't I haven't really seen anything but I'm not really… yeah, so, I'm not really sure what the Arab perspective is on the war.

Jenny: Ok. So can you engage in a conversation about how the Arabs see it and why it's not right or why it could be right?

Jack: Oh yeah we all talked about it a little bit …it's just like we understood that there's a lot of terrorism in the world to begin with… and just North America is blind to it. Like really blind to it. So something like this it's just like a wakeup call, it's something that's existed for years. I mean Ireland has had problems with it for the longest time.

The above quotations demonstrate that Christian males are aware that there are differences between North American and Arab perspectives on Middle East issues. Yet as the second quotation in particular demonstrates, the rationalization for such differences is couched within Western-based rationalizations such as the comparison to terrorism in Ireland. This situation stands in sharp contrast to Muslim males who seem closer to an Arab perspective and who use rationalizations which are more deeply couched within an Arab cultural and historical discourse. For example the following quotation by an Arab Muslim male participant demonstrates that there is more likely to be a personal attachment to the conflict in the Middle East.

Khaled: I give it, the weight that it deserves, because it's very serious, and when I hear of the poverty, when I hear of now, when I hear of Israeli tanks closing in on Ramallah towns and it's been closed off for six months now, all of a sudden I start picturing the living conditions that this guy was telling me about, or this woman tells me about, and all of a sudden I've been hearing now that they've been enclosed in this little populated town, full of poverty and, and the sewage and the disease and I hear wow, and they're being imprisoned in their own homes, for six, nine months straight, it all of a sudden that means a lot more to me than it would mean to someone who's never heard of anything or just thinks of Palestine of just you know, a little town just like here you know?

Jenny : Yeah

Khaled:...they don't really realize what it's like and it just gives me a lot more weight. I can't help but now picture myself being in those situations and how I would react to it.

As the above discourse shows, Khaled exhibits his feelings of personal attachment to the situation in the Middle East. He describes how he tries to put himself in the shoes of people living in Palestine and tries to imagine how he would feel if he was subjected to being entrapped in a neighbourhood with no access to sewage and utter poverty. The discourse he uses illustrates how he perceives the media commentary more personally and with more deep emotion. Khaled also contrasts this to how "they" meaning North Americans do not realize what it's like to live in such conditions and how North Americans seem much more detached from the experiences of the Palestinians. This is in contrast to the comments of the Christian female in the following quotation who attempts to bridge the gap between the understanding of both Israeli and Arab perspectives:

Jenny: okay what about your parents understanding. Do you understand their view on the conflict? Like you have satellite access, access to the Arab perspective?

Tanya: Yeah we have Arabic satellite and my parents like watch it a lot. They see... actually there's a lot of times where there's news and stuff and stuff like that going on. I don't know exactly how they feel about the situation but umm I don't really think they're really happy about it?

Jenny: Yeah...like do you think that you can understand though, like the Arabic perspective. Have you heard the way they interpret the...

Tanya: Yeah.. yeah...I know how like I know how the Palestinians feel of course, and I know how the Israelis feel- okay? On both sides.

The Christian female in the above quotation attempts to show how her understanding is not affiliated with either Arab or Jewish but rather a sympathy for both sides is exhibited and a feeling that the situation of conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians is a sad one. While demonstrating humanitarian concern for victims of the Middle East conflict, Tanya's commentary still does not seem as personal as the following quotation from a Muslim female.

Jenny: Ok do you discuss this with like other friends, family just a kind of …

Aisha: Oh yeah a lot of, especially, you know what I find surprising that you mentioned too is that a lot of my friends are Arab Muslims but we've all like we've all grown up here and we've all grown up together, we understand like we always have like we see, see the faults of maybe like Canadians or Americans don't see in their media? Because you know, it's attacking us in a way right? Because we're Muslims and we have other sources of information too like the satellites and, and family and friends and news or radio or whatever right? So like it's easier for us like to understand where like the Arab perspective why it could happen?

The above commentary captures the essence of personal feelings expressed among Muslim participants in the study: Muslim female participants like their male counterparts perceived the North American media as anti-Islamic. For this reason the rhetoric of North American media is perceived as a personal insult to Canadian-Arab Muslim youths because they feel the need to defend their religion against negative mainstream media portrayals. Access to Arab media provides Arab Muslim youth participants with a cathartic experience in which their frustrated feelings and sentiments regarding the conflict and the ways in which Palestinians are portrayed are expressed openly.

The experience for Canadian-Eastern Orthodox Christian youths is a little more complex. For Christian youths in this study, many of whom do not primarily identify or perceive themselves as "Arab," the ways in which the Arabs and Muslims are portrayed are perceived as worrisome and damaging to their identity and to their interpersonal relationships with other non-Arab Canadians as they are categorized by members of society as "Arab" irrespective of their Christian religious affiliation, and therefore associated with the mainstream media-driven definition of terrorism. Although the youth participants expressed negative feelings from such media coverage many believed that as Christians and minorities, their parents' were discriminated against in Islamic Arab countries and hence do not connect entirely with either North American or Arab perspectives but rather with a combination of both.

The above discussion illustrates how Canadian-Arab Muslim participants perceive the mainstream media coverage in North America as denigrating their religion. Since the religious Muslim youths identify themselves primarily with their religion, biased and disinformative media coverage is considered an attack on their personal identities. This effect forces many families to seek alternative media coverage most notably, via satellite technology. Events such as September 11, 2001 and the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian coverage or the Gulf Wars are viewed from the Arab media which is seen as more objective. Conversely, while Canadian-Arab Christians may agree with their Muslim counterparts that mainstream media is biased against Islam and Arabs, there is no feeling of personal attack on their identities since much of the media disinformation focuses on Islam. When Canadian-Arab Christians feel their personal identities to be under attack, they also begin doubting the validity of the media source in a similar manner to their Muslim counterparts. These issues will be described in greater detail in the following section examining youth perceptions on propaganda in both CNN and LBC media coverage.

The Differences Between Western and Arab Satellite Media

All youth interviewed were asked whether or not they felt that news media sources such as CNN or LBC would propagandize their perspective points of view. The purpose of this question was to determine the extent to which youth choose to use analytical tools as opposed to their feelings regarding Arab and Western media coverage of conflict. All youth interviewed responded in the affirmative to this question (i.e. they believed that all news sources contained some element of propaganda). However, one common theme revealed by the participant responses was the extent to which CNN propagandizes its perspective far outweighs that of Middle East news channels such as LBC. This view was consistent with the majority of youths interviewed despite varied youth perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Although Christian males have demonstrated more Western-based perspectives on the events in the Middle East, this differed with regards to the attacks of September 11, 2001. The fact that Western media sources associated images of Arabs cheering at news of the American tragedy immediately after the attacks was critically analyzed by different Christian male participants and led them to agree with the Arab perspective on the events. This demonstrates how the image of Arabs cheering was seen as a threat to the Christian identity, beliefs, and values of the Canadian-Eastern Orthodox Christians in this study. The CNN media demonization of Arabs in this instance represents one of the few media representations which prompted Canadian-Arab Christian males to read between the lines in mainstream media sources:

Quotation #1

John: Ok… I didn't actually see the stuff but during the events of September 11th ah one of the first clips that they showed, CNN showed was the Palestinians cheering up and down, right? But when someone mentioned it to me it wasn't the same time zone? And it couldn't have been… it couldn't have been cheering because they showed it most in light … and different time zones clearly showed that it couldn't have been at the same time so…I don't know where they got that clip from.

Quotation #2

Allan: … and it was like you know these people, like Palestinians that are mad at Americans, so they're out on the streets dancing and burning flags and cursing and happy that there's all this death.. Even like a lot of people, including me, took that as all Arabs are like that hypocritical, that stupid? Like I already know like personally I know a lot better than that so I wasn't as easily influenced but somebody that doesn't know like the inside track or doesn't know that there's Christians and there's Muslims, there's people that don't

actually have the same opinion. They're so easily influenced by what they see which kind of like um scares me…

These two above quotations demonstrate that when Arab-Christian males feel that their personal identity is under attack, they will attempt more critical analysis of the received information. Consider the following quotation in which John is in agreement with the Arab/Islamic perspective on the September 11, 2001 events:

John: I mean it was bad what happened to New York but I didn't …part of it has to do with stereotype but I heard um you know, that Bush could have done it himself. …'cause you know, people didn't like him, he didn't have a majority rule, and it's been ….it's a fact that um Presidents that declare war on a country always get re-elected.…

The above comments by John indicate that he felt his identity to be under attack and he decided to analyze the event from an alternative Arab perspective. Such a finding demonstrates that the reason why many Canadian-Arab-Muslim youths constantly distrust the majority of mainstream media to which they are exposed is because they have witnessed what they perceive as disinformation about their religion and the political, historical and contemporary events of the Middle East region. Hence events which they are not immediately exposed to firsthand which are not verified in other media sources cannot be taken as truth, especially if it comes from mainstream media such as CNN. The lack of trust in the above mainstream media representations and the need to verify such information via satellite media is made clear by the following quotation:

Jenny: Alright, do you think the media portrayals of the Arab whichever media source we're looking at…do you think it makes Arabs look bad? Do you think it demonizes them in a way?

Omar: they portray the A'rabs as evil when ah September 11th for instance, right away they showed a picture that was from ah the Gulf War on how Palestinian kids cheering in the streets. They showed Palestinian kids, these are Palestinian kids cheering in the streets for the destruction that happened in America That wasn't even a clip. No, they even showed ah, I can't remember exactly, which station I watch 'cause I have a lot of 'A'raby stations at home I can't remember which station but they showed this clipping the day of the 1991 Gulf War and it's a clipping …it's the same clipping

As illustrated, Canadian-Arab Muslim youths' response displayed how in order to verify news obtained from North American media he turns to Arab satellite media channels. With regards to the clip shown immediately after September 11, 2001, the youth argues how Arab satellite media verified the source of the clip as coming out of the first Gulf War i.e. Operation Desert Storm in 1991. This is in slight contrast to John who obtains his information from social circles. Such arguments illustrate how mainstream media in North America is perceived as untrustworthy and has lost its legitimacy among Canadian-Arabs generally.

The Significance of Media Representations

The perceptions of youth concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is of special significance given the rise of the second *Intifada* in September 2000 and the increasing inflammation of Canadian-Arab community sensitivities on being exposed to news from the Middle East via satellite media. The first Gulf War in 1991 was also deemed an important media event to discuss because of the high anti-Arab sentiment in Canadian education and society during the war in 1990 as documented in past research (Kashmeri, 1991, Abu-Laban, 1999).

During the first interview set, the question posed to all youth participants was to compare the effects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to that of the Gulf War. Responses to this question were varied. Some of the youth stated that they were too young to remember the Gulf War or its effects in their immediate social and educational environments. To overcome this, I asked youth to recall the second US led operation in Iraq in 1998 (Operation Desert Fox) as well as media commentary on Iraq and former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Some youth perceived the effects of the two Gulf Wars and the media commentaries on Iraq as more detrimental to the state of Canadian ethnic relations than the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Reasons cited for this perception was the fact that Canadian and American soldiers were actually involved in the war therefore the experience was personally affecting Canadian and American families. According to this perception, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was also deemed too far removed from the North American experience in addition to being perceived as too complicated for most North Americans to objectively understand due to the high level of North American mainstream media bias. Some students were able to recall the effects of media coverage of the 1991 Gulf War on ethnic relations within the educational setting:

> *Khaled: Yeah, see in the Gulf War, it was totally like Iraq bashing which, which turned into Arab bashing…*
>
> *Jenny: Like a, a teacher could have calmed the situation down?*
>
> *Khaled: Yeah, actually made a very strong conscious effort …not just keep your eyes open and make sure nothing too bad happens…Like we came to school and we heard just people laughing, guys laughing*

about how much soldiers that had died last year, like Iraqi soldiers and, and...Like they're so happy and it's like that would just cause us to then laugh if we heard of a plane getting shot down or whatever and we'd tell them yeah so you know, they have a lot of soldiers or whatever, it was just like, like nobody took, during war nobody takes into account the other side's feelings, I think...

During the second set of interviews, many of which occurred post-September 11th, students were asked detailed questions regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from a North American mainstream media viewpoint. Examples of such questions were the following: why don't the Arabs accept Sharon's proposal to absorb all the Palestinians into Jordan? How do you feel about Yasser Arafat being called a terrorist? Do you think Arafat should be in control of those people in his jurisdiction who commit terrorist acts? Students were thus given the opportunity to identify and/or defend the Arab perspective or show their support for a Western perspective on the conflict.

All youth interviewed agreed that media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian is highly destructive to the image of all Arabs or Muslims and this has become especially exacerbated since the events of September 11, 2001. Both Arab Christians and Muslims showed more sympathy with the Palestinian cause although Christians demonstrated less of a detailed analysis of the historical background information on the conflict itself. This seems to be attributable to the nature of the socio-cultural values of their specific ethno-religious communities. Half of the Muslim youth participants in the study socialized more with other Muslim youth such as at the Mosque or at the Muslim Students' Association where critical analysis and discussions occurred regarding the politics of the Middle East or new anti-terrorism laws implemented in Canada. Conversely, Christians interviewed for this research study did not live and interact in highly politicized communities. Furthermore, political discussions in Churches or Canadian-Arab Christian community organizations were non-existent. Moreover, Eastern Orthodox Christians did not seem to discuss the historical issues surrounding Israel and Palestine in detail with their Muslim friends. This politicization was more the case for males more than females. The feeling among Christian males and a few of the females was that when in the presence of Muslim Arab friends the best strategy was to steer away from politics because of the fear of losing them as friends, especially if the conversation turned onto a discussion of religious issues. Thus it seems, in their calculations immediate relationships took precedence over broader community commitments.

Although Eastern Orthodox Christian youths express distress for the Palestinians, many of them felt that the lack of coherence and unity among the Arab countries and religions, directly contributed to the demise of Arab countries and peoples. Christians' responses illustrate more criticism of the politics of Arab states and the role of politicized Islam in state politics. Although Christians expressed sadness at Palestinian living conditions, they also felt that the role of extremist movement in the Arab world was a contributing factor in the demonization of Arabs and Islam and the lack of North American sympathy to the Palestinian cause. The discourse used by Canadian Eastern Orthodox Christians in this study more closely resembles North American media commentary. Two factors seemed to shape the Arab-Christian discourse: first, discrimination encountered by Christian parents within their homeland and second, discrimination encountered in Canada for being associated with Arab countries and terrorism.

A few Canadian-Eastern Orthodox Christian respondents also seemed to agree with the notion that the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians has been complicated by outside interference and the clash of Jewish and Islamic value systems.

The following quotations are from male and female Arab Christians and their interpretations of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:

Quotation #1

Jack.: … well America decided to get involved years ago and when the problem escalated beyond their hands they retreated and they play … well they said it's none of our business anymore but yet it is. They're part of the problem they got involved ah they supplied the weapons, they ah send the army over there, they did many different types of actions where they're involved and so yes they have a role, and other countries should be responsible. It seems that the only time a nation will go and defend for another nation is when their stakes or interests, when their interests are at risk.

Quotation # 2

Michelle: Yeah um I think one of the reasons is outside interference all the reasons for the negative occurrences in the Middle East, is outside interference and I think the Arab countries should take more responsibility and become more sovereign for their own nations.

Quotation #3

Patricia: Um honestly, I blame the Palestinians, for not learning a lesson from other Arab nations… 'cause like for example, Egypt, when Sadat made the truce with Israel… he knew, okay it's a fact, Israel was strong, Israel's going to beat us.

As these quotations show, the lack of historical detail illustrates a general superficial understanding of the conflict. Quotation 3, by Patricia, however, illustrates that despite some historical reference, the Palestinians are still considered partially to blame. Furthermore, the above quotations demonstrate a feeling among Christian youths that the problems of the Palestinians have historically been complicated by outside interference and generally politics gone wrong, both of which seem to be perpetuated by the lack of coherent independent policies implemented by the Arab world. The perspective of these youth reveal a viewpoint that, without a clear and comprehensive effort on the part of Arab leaders to solve problems within and between Arab countries, there will be no real solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These Christian youth perspectives seem to a large extent to be affected by parents'

experiences within their homelands in addition to being exposed to more mainstream North American than Arab satellite media.

While Eastern Orthodox-Christians' viewpoints exhibit some variation, the responses of Arab-Muslim youth participants also reveal some variation. When asked what participants' would advise educators given their tendency to repeat mainstream media stereotypes, Muslim youths generally seemed to emphasize the need to conduct more research on the historical details of the conflict than their Christian counterparts. Others described the conflict involving the Palestinians in relation to the historical and political contest leading up to the events. For example, one male interviewee mentioned that if he were to educate Canadian students on the complexity of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict he would trace its history to the Zionist plans for a Palestinian state and then describe the Balfour Declaration.

The following quotations demonstrate some of the variation in Muslim responses.

Quotation #1

Omar: They're very ignorant regarding the situation in the Middle East or how the situation is happening or....why are the people like this, they're extremely ignorant to it...I'd go further back to 1912 or before...to the plans.

Quotation #2

Zeinab: Well teachers shouldn't get their information or get their beliefs from what they see on TV, they should like, being a teacher they should research it themselves and see what's going on? On both sides? So... they.... before presenting something on the issue, do the research.

Thus far the findings reveal how youths perceived mainstream media coverage during the Gulf Wars as more damaging to the state of Canadian-Arab relations than the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Canadian-Eastern Orthodox Christians do not seem to enter into many discussions on events or politics in the Middle East even within their own circle at Church and social functions. Moreover, Eastern Orthodox youths unlike Muslims do not experience biased media as a direct attack on their religion. Mainstream media biases which

infiltrate teacher and student understandings make educational experiences more dissonant for Muslim youths. This, in addition to Muslim youths' access to satellite media coverage illustrating images and video footage from conflict zones, leads many Muslim youths to feel demonized by Canadian society. This demonization is usually tied to ongoing world events involving Arab or Islamic countries. In contrast, Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youths in this study are not up-to- date of the details of Arab discourses on issues such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Arab perspective on the events of September 11, 2001.

All of the youth, regardless of religious background expressed their condemnation of the tragic events of September 11th. Yet the interpretations of whom the perpetrators of the tragedy were and why they conducted such a terrorist attack, differed between the two groups. While Christians tended to align themselves with the official US interpretation of the events of those responsible for the events of September 11, Muslims were more likely to side with the Arab perspective or alternative theories called "conspiracies" by mainstream media critics in North American society.

For example, the following quotations from Christians demonstrated how they felt the Arab interpretation of a conspiracy being behind September 11th was really more or less a way for Arab Canadian Muslims to "save face." Below are some of the comments made by a Christian male and a Christian female on the Arab perspective regarding the events of September 11th

Quotation #1

Jenny: How do you feel about the Arabic perspective?

Jack: ...well um... it's different I mean any culture is gonna stick up for themselves.

Jenny: Ok

Jack: I mean if the community starts attacking America ...like I don't know some kind of suicide bombings Canadians would do... I could understand it's standing up for your own culture. It's like you know, we're not as bad as everybody tries to make us you're just fending for yourself.

Quotation #2

Tanya: Yeah... I'd say they don't wanna be blacklisted, like the people who live here they don't wanna be seen as the offensive side, they don't wanna be seen as yeah we attacked, that's why they make stuff like that up. So...you know? And it could be like people who want nothing to do with the situation either, they just don't wanna be associated with it.

Jenny: Yeah but have you heard Christians saying anything about it?

Tanya: I haven't heard Christians saying anything about that. Like I've heard Christians of course, badmouthing the States, but this is more like a Canadian thing more than a Christian thing.

As the two examples show, the media interpretation of the events of September 11th by Christians parallels the views, perceptions, and rationales of the Canadian and US mainstream media, society, and education. In both cases, the youth use the way in which Canadians would react to explain or rationalize why Canadian-Arab Muslims act and think the way they do. In both cases there is a tendency to distance oneself from an Arab perspective and align oneself and one's perspectives with Canadian "commonsense."

Conversely, however, Canadian-Arab Muslim youths were much more critical and open about their interpretations involving the attacks of September 11th. Following are some quotations of Arab-Muslim youth.

Quotation #1

Aisha: Yeah for sure. Um I don't agree that ah personally I don't agree that it was Muslims who did it?

Jenny: Ok

Aisha: …just because it, from a Muslim's point of view it doesn't make sense...What did they get out of it? You know what I mean? Logically for me, it doesn't make sense, and because Muslims have denied it. And I really do understand where like um they can come up with a conspiracy theory 'cause there has… it has happened in the past, maybe not in the Arab context but in other things um conspiracy theories of different governments right? …what they've

done and the CIA has lied to the public…you know, now how many years later we find out. So it's not probably that unbelievable?

Quotation #2

Khaled: Ah yeah I can see the Arab perspective. 'cause I don't know if I believe that but at the same time I wouldn't, I wouldn't say that I don't....believe it. Because from just the research I've been doing, sometimes I do a little bit of research. If you look at history it shows you that Israel is not innocent of terrorism so from that perspective and based on that I believe that it is a possibility for the Israelis say Mossad to commit something like this, they've proven that they will kill innocent people and terrorize people so…from that perspective I believe it's a possibility. Also, from, from just in the past, you, I've heard about …the…Israeli Mossad in Egypt committing terrorism and trying to frame ah Egyptian extremists and these terrorist acts were committed on to Americans um like if you've ever heard of in 1954 they called it ah "Operation Suzanna"

As these two examples show, Arab Muslims are more open with regards to the possibility that the Arab perspective and so-called "conspiracy theories" about the tragic events of September 11th. They are also more likely to believe that alternative explanations may contain some elements of truth which is in sharp contrast to Canadian-Arab Christian responses. Muslim youths referred to the fact that Islam represents America's new enemy. These youth argued that previously communism represented the ultimate evil and many lies were spread about Communist countries, and now this was happening to Muslims and Arabs. For example:

Quotation #1

Aisha: Hmm no I think that they don't show it because like I said they have an agenda so the enemy now, um as would be like us and them right. So as Americans they would need an enemy right?

Jenny: Right

Aisha: America has created it in the Middle East or Islam you know what I mean? Or whatever, so we have to make them look bad so we can have the support of the public and, and if you can't really

like describe the history of it because the history would show, that really Israel is not completely justified in taking over a country, and taking all the people right? So if they did and they went into detail, it would, it would make, it would make them, (sighs) like Middle Eastern people, whatever whoever is their enemy, not look so bad?

Quotation #2

Omar: CNN for example, they won't explain the big picture they won't explain the destruction or anything like that like in Philastine for example because they are Jewish-owned. Warner Bros. Jewish owned." They won't do that for their own people…it's also … basically who controls the media, controls the people. The world is stuck to TV the world is stuck to watching TV. All they do is watch the news, what's going on in the world right now.

The above quotation captures Arab Muslim youth rationales regarding the September 11th attacks. Because North American media representations are perceived as lacking truthfulness about basic historical facts involving the establishment of Israel state or Islam as a religion, *much* Arab Muslim "commonsense" infers that it is the US government that fabricates many events and facts and demonizes Islam and the Arabs out of political interest in a new kind of Cold War. The youth believe that American activities are in line with supporting Israel at the expense of the continued subjugation and oppression of the Palestinian or Iraqi people. The notion that mainstream media outlets are owned and controlled largely by Jewish individuals or groups is also a commonsense perspective in Canadian-Arab circles. This notion also explains why Muslim youths generally perceived mainstream media as biased in favour of Israel and in encouraging negative stereotypes against Arabs and Islam.

Canadian-Arab Christian and Muslim Differences in Media Interpretations

Thus far, I have examined the different attitudes towards media and the perceptions of international events by Canadian Christian and Muslim Arab youths in this study. Canadian-Arab Muslims both religious and less religious are highly critical of mainstream media reporting in North America. Their responses seem to illustrate the notion that mainstream media like CNN attacks their very identity as Muslims. Many felt that the US has replaced the former "Communist enemy" with the new "Islamic enemy." As a result, Canadian-Arab Muslims perceive much media disinformation on Islam and historical facts on the Arab world as unreliable unless it is validated through other sources. Conversely, many Canadian-Arab Christians expressed the view that Canadian-Arab Muslims may themselves be biased in their perceptions on 911 conspiracies involving Israeli and US intelligence. While many Eastern Orthodox Christian youths tend to agree with the notion that Zionist lobbies have influence on US mainstream media and foreign policies their reasons qualitatively differ. For Christian Canadian-Arab youth, the fact that non-Arab Canadians seem oblivious to the fact that Christians even exist within Arab countries seems due to biases in Western Christian religious and educational institutions which generally tend to exclude Eastern Orthodox Christians as "true" Christians. These biases are then reinforced by the media's exclusion of Christians in the Middle East despite the high coverage afforded to the region.

Arab-Muslim youth similarly felt that educators and policy makers would take media propaganda information on the Islamic religion, Islamic extremists, and the history of the region at face value and would then reproduce such information within the educational system. For them, the media was counterproductive to the state of ethnic relations in Canada and to peace and security on an international level. Canadian-Arab Muslim and Christian youth believed Canadian education about Middle Eastern events was weak and that this weakness was compounded by uninformed personal opinions about the Arab world or Middle East conflict in a discussion of the region or its politics.

In summary, I have examined youth identity in terms of youth experiences with cognitive dissonance, life in the Diaspora, the changing nature of traditional gender values of honour and shame, and the global media. The findings of the study with respect to these issues illustrate that youths' hybrid Canadian-Arab cultural identity assists them in rationalizing the meaning and relevance of various traditional cultural values such as honour and shame in light of their hybrid value systems. Hence, youths have mastered means by which they can reduce feelings of dissonance. For religious Muslim youths this may involve raising awareness campaigns. For Eastern Orthodox youths this involves educating individuals on the history of Christianity as well as diversity in the Middle East. For the majority of youths regardless of religion, traditional values such as honour and shame still regulate Arab female behaviour but are increasingly being frowned upon by the youths themselves, for not being in consonance with their religious and cultural values. This seems to suggest that such values are waning as a result of globalization and its concurrent changes. Mainstream media coverage seems to serve as an impetus for youths to conduct further research on current ongoing events in the region or to completely isolate oneself from such news as Christian youths do.

While youth identity formation is produced by a multiplicity of factors, Canadian-Arab parents immigrate to Canada with or returned to hope that their children will be

offered better guarantees than they had if they stayed in many Middle East countries. Despite such anticipation, Canadian-Arab youths, (many of whom have never been to the Middle East), are still linked to international or regional events involving terrorism by the government and with the assistance of mainstream media influences. Muslim youths, specifically, are adversely affected by such disinformation in their experiences in Canadian educational and societal institutions. Since mainstream media discourse focuses on Islam as a key ingredient during times of political conflict in the Middle East, Muslim youth tend to experience a stronger sense of demonization and exclusion. Eastern Orthodox Christians are also influenced by such media bias leading them to critically analyze the media when they feel personally attacked by its coverage. The influence of global media is thus seen as a key socializing force in the reconciliation of youth identity.

Chapter Eight

Educational Experiences and Identity

Past chapters illustrate how youths actively contest information on their identities not only from mainstream media but from their ethno-religious communities and parents as well. Youths feel they are the authors of the morals and values that they choose to maintain. The impact of vicariously learning about others of similar ethnic and religious identity is considered central to a) the reconciliation of identity and b) the shielding of the collective group one is in, from outside threats such as disrespect or denigration. The adverse educational impact of mainstream media on Canadian youths' school experiences will be more fully explored in this chapter. Because the overwhelming majority of experiences with direct forms of racism within schooling processes come from Muslim youths, most Muslim youth experience on direct prejudice and focus on these experiences. In other words, youths experience media education as diffuse while they experience school education as more direct and impositional. While Eastern Orthodox youths agreed with the fact that media and educators are biased against Muslim youths, they also indicated that teachers walk a fine line by trying to eliminate such biases in attempts to educate all students about religious and cultural diversity. Eastern Orthodox youths, did however, express the view that the school and/or university system did not foster any inter-ethnic or religious understanding and instead reinforced many of the ethnic divides already present in society.

This chapter describes Canadian-Arab youths' perspectives on racism and ethnic segregation within the public education system. It also describes specific youth feelings on the educational curricula as a reflection of multicultural diversity and takes seriously their suggestions for educators to live up to their "multicultural" ideals, especially during times of war. These findings thus contain many youth-initiated suggestions for improving inter-ethnic relations within schools which are important for educational practitioners and policy makers.

Youth experiences within the current educational system seem to reflect society in that minorities are encouraged to assimilate or conform to the majority values to be academically successful. In addition, many Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youth participants reported how cliques in high school were organized according to ethnicity and that crossing over such manufactured boundaries would lead to feelings of intimidation. The findings suggest a lack of multicultural history or a global vision in social studies and history curricula and that this manifested itself on the social level in youths' social interactions in education and society. The lack of a clear multicultural policy dealing with ethnic tensions in the school seems to leave teachers with no resources or "skills know-how" to effectively encounter such tensions and seems a problem worthy of serious attention by government and educational policy makers. These issues will be explored in greater depth.

Because of the importance of educational experiences in identifying who oneself is in relation to others, it was deemed necessary in the proposal phase of this research to ask youths how they felt as Canadian-Arabs in Canada's multicultural educational context. The purpose was to connect questions about youth understanding to broader social and political concerns especially those that might have important implications for the education

practitioners and policymakers. Youths were asked a series of questions including whether educational experiences varied according to media's attention on socio-political conflict in the Middle East. Other questions involved asking participants if they endured specific verbal or physical forms of harassment during the Gulf War or in climaxes in the ongoing conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians. I also asked youths to recall whether or not there were any misrepresentations of Arab culture or Middle East religions. Youths expressed how they felt about their teachers' comments discussing issues involving current political or social events in the Middle East. Finally, youths were asked to provide some advice to teachers and educational policy makers to implement a more comprehensive multicultural perspective within the educational systems. The findings are important because they reveal how there are many occasions within schools when teachers and principals can make a difference to alleviate inter-ethnic tensions. However and instead, these tensions are covered up or superficially dealt with and tend to increase inter-ethnic tensions.

Student's Views on Multicultural Curriculum

Youths in the study described their experiences in education in Canada and contrasted it to what their perceptions of what they thought multicultural education should entail. The majority of the participants described their frustrations with the fact that very little in the educational curricula covers Middle East conflict. Some participants felt that when the Middle East was covered, it was done from a one-sided Eurocentric perspective. The findings reveal a correspondence between mainstream media and societal disinformation on the Middle East and the lack of knowledge on such issues within the educational curriculum in that any information presented has done so from a biased and /or superficial perspective. These understandings then manifest in racist remarks and denigrating treatment of Canadian-Muslim youths specifically by their teachers and fellow classmates.

All the participants in the study had experienced schooling in Canada. The majority of participants had spent most of their elementary, and high school years in The City, some participants had also experienced education in the Arab world, Europe, and Latin America. Most of the participants (7) were still enrolled in University while the remainders were working (5). Three youths experienced education in different countries such as the Middle East, Latin America, and Western Europe. Participants shared their thoughts and feelings on the school curriculum which they studied during high school and described whether or not it included a multicultural perspective.

Most participants claimed that the majority of what they had studied that could be called "multicultural" was in their Social Studies curriculum which typically covered issues such as Canadian history, specifically with regards to the settlement of Canada, Canada's relation to the US, some history on China, Japan, and the two World Wars. When asked about Middle East history or politics in the curriculum, the majority of participants recalled how in Social Studies 30, there was a brief section on the Middle East but some pointed out its inaccuracies. Consider the following statements:

Quotation #1

Khaled: Not at all, not at all that's like, that's a joke if you say it's multicultural. It's multicultural in what way? That you have a lot of different cultures attending the school? Ok, yeah that's multicultural. Ok…but the educational system? It's not multicultural. It's the most, it's so one-sided. Like to give an example there is never, you are never ever taught anything from an Arab perspective, from a Muslim perspective, it's like as if Muslim or Arab people have never contributed to this world. Because you will go through thirteen years of education, without once hearing of an Arab contribution to society yet if you go and look yourself and search for it, you will find that it's, it's mind boggling it will blow your mind away of every day, everyday things that every single human being now makes part of their every day life was contributed by an Arab.

Quotation #2

Allan: Not at all. You learn about Russia, learn about a little European history, a lot of Canadian and American history, nothing about Africa really, nothing …like about the Middle East, nothing about Asia… well we had sorry Japan but that was back then… the only thing we really focused on were the World Wars and such. Anything about India or Egypt I learn from my friends, it was never taught.

The two quotations from these males demonstrate that the nature of multiculturalism in education in The Province seems highly restricted. Khaled's comments reveal his feelings of frustration that no historical information regarding Arab contributions to civilization was included throughout his educational experiences. According to Allan, the curriculum was very restricted and very little knowledge taught regarding developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. When information did come up regarding Arab countries, participants' thought the comments and the knowledge was very one sided and in an indirect way contributed to common stereotypes regarding the history of the region, its culture, and its peoples.

John: Brazil, Russia, and Ukraine something like that ah not … I think not enough Arabs …we didn't even approach it. Especially when like the Arabs are a lot more talked about than any other culture I think in the media. And it'd be a lot better for us in the culture and everybody if um the public was a little more educated on what's really going on there not just a bunch of religious factions going at it. I definitely think that if society was a little bit more educated it would be a little bit better. It would be less negative um down on the culture.

As this participant states, there was very little of the curriculum that dealt with issues involving the Middle East conflict or even very general knowledge about Arab culture or Middle East conflicts. This absence is seen by him, as harmful mainly because the Middle East is covered by mainstream media on a regular basis due to ongoing conflict, and yet Canadian societal members rarely learn anything about it from their educational systems. The following participant reiterates these ideas and describes how when issues do touch on the Middle East come up, they seem to be quickly swept under the rug by educators and administrators. The participant comments on his watching a World War II movie that referred to Middle East history when he was attending a high school in The City:

> *Khaled: Yeah, yeah in the end they go to the Germans, where are we supposed to go? And he tells them "there's land in the East, go there," ok? So the movie ends and my teacher stand in front of the class and we had about a moment a ten second moment of silence, not talking and everybody in silence…and he's like ok wow that was a good movie, and I was like "Ok yeah" and I put up my hand, and I'm like Mr. So and so, ah what did he mean this soldier when he said there's land in the East why don't you go? He started you know, just getting all kind of edgy, "he was talking about ah Israel, ah back then it was known as Palestine but yeah he was talking about Israel and that they should go there but right now we're not gonna get into that issue we're just gonna talk about the Holocaust and World War II, we'll get into that another time." And he cut me off and we never ever talked about that.*

> *Jenny: Did he know you were Arabic?*

> *Khaled: Yeah he did. Oh yeah, but he just cut me off and it's like why can't we ever talk about that? Why does it have to be so secretive? Why don't we learn? It's the most like the most important topic in the world right now, and for the past twenty years is on the news more than any other topic is (begins knocking on the table for emphasis) the (knock) Arab (knock) Israeli (knock) conflict (knock) yet they will never ever learn how it started? Like isn't that the most silly…for the biggest topic in the world…to never ever to be taught to the students, how it started, what year it started, forty eight, what happened, who was living there at the time, who was not living there at the time, how was the country run? Yet you're not taught it. It's like we'll teach you what happened before and we're gonna teach you what's now …but we're gonna leave out everything in the middle.*

Khaled's comments reveal his frustration at the fact that there is very little knowledge regarding the Middle East conflict despite the fact that it is one of the oldest ongoing conflicts in the world. Moreover, his description of how the teacher decided to ignore his question regarding Israeli settlement in Palestinian lands, seemed to underline the teacher's uneasiness at discussing the issue. Khaled's use of the word "secret" gives the sense

that his culture and religious background are not to be commented on or expressed and hence his feeling that he is being silenced.

This view was shared by the majority of my interviewees. A few participants tried to explain the teachers' perspectives in terms of the fine line they felt teachers might find themselves in when discussing issues which may be considered offensive:

> *Michelle: Well in school religion wasn't something that was really like we emphasized here because I think they're so scared to try to talk about religion to people because it can cause so many different conflict in views… like they're very careful I think here about the way they describe things like that?*

Participants in the study also mentioned how the lack of education about the various cultures affected their interpersonal relationships with others in the school. Consider the following examples regarding ethnic relations between students within the schools and the separation between those of different ethnicities:

> *Allan I think they didn't understand, trust, believe, relate sort of thing. They didn't come from the same places and it's hard to relate. I didn't feel that they didn't mix, 'cause they did mix, but they weren't, but they usually weren't…like groups of East Indian, White, and Chinese maybe… it was always like… it was usually separate… you know, there'd be friends between here and there but there's usually...everybody was kind of to their own groups.*

The following comment by Patricia demonstrates how the segregation of ethnic groups in the school reflected the poor educational curricula on diversity and also was reinforced by similar ethnic segregation in society in The City.

> *Patricia: I would think so but these things would have come from my experience in Canada as much as the United Arab Emirates because over there it was really multicultural more so than Canada even... So I got that general knowledge about all the cultures. It wasn't something you learned from socializing with friends it was in the education system itself you know, we learned about all the ancient civilizations, we learned about everything you know, politics, everything. But also in the classrooms I don't even recall three people being of the same culture in one class…So you know, you definitely*

have that chance to mesh with everybody and learn about everybody's culture.

Jenny: So you don't necessarily have that here?

Patricia: … well my sister is at high school here and I don't think I really found... I found that ethnic groups were more isolated here especially in high school and the Italians in one area and the blah blah blah in one area… So I found it was more separated that way and I don't …it was never in the curriculum. I don't recall you know perhaps politically but that's mandatory that you learn about World War II, World War I you know, but it wasn't really that you learned about other cultures so...No. And I think also in The City there's this thing where you know where Arabs all go this certain school like X….everybody goes to X (laughs) and ah yeah and like a that's how it is and there isn't very much meshing in the schools themselves.

Patricia's comments compare the educational curriculum in Canada to that in the United Arab Emirates. According to her, the educational curriculum in the U.A.E. focused more on the study of various ethnicities and religions than Canada's educational curricula. Patricia contrasts her experience in the UAE to that of her sister's current and ongoing high school social interactions, the latter of which also seemed more segregated along ethnic lines. Her comments also make clear that the youth examined other reasons why the Canadian curriculum may not be as inclusive as that of the UAE. Patricia's comments are also in line with Allan's previous comments revealing that most of what youths' learn regarding ethnic diversity come from personal friends. The participant in this section also notes how most of the Canadian-Arabs in The City reside on the North Side and their children, therefore, attend schools that are in close proximity. According to Patricia the Canadian-Arab community itself does not make much of an effort to enrol its children in schools where there is opportunity for its youth to intermingle with those of other ethnic communities.

It seems from the comments of this and the previous participants that lack of schooling on the disparate cultures, ethnicities and religions making up the diversity in society serves to feed misinformation regarding these cultures and ethnicities. Hence *the majority* of youth within multi-ethnic schools does not choose to learn from one another and, in fact, may find it easier to alienate oneself from other groups which may make them feel intimidated.

These responses of youth have important consequences. The following example illustrates how lack of knowledge regarding Arab culture or history is damaging especially when a few single Canadian-Arab male student behaviours lead to bad impressions or serve to reinforce educators' negative stereotypes of all Arab students:

Yasmine: Well I think they should teach kids in elementary and high school a little bit more about the different cultures in Canada they

don't... all they do is focus on World War II like we went over World War II I don't know how many times...Whereas in Greece when I lived there we took the history of Greece and other countries like I don't think it's as tough or as interesting as it is there...like when I lived in Greece we had to take thirteen different classes all year round... we took math, social not social but French, Arabic ...a whole bunch of things...so I think if they wanna make it more multicultural it's imperative to have at least some other cultures. 'cause a lot of times non-Arabs like people who are basically born here who aren't of an ethnic background...they, have this perception like you know an Arab isn't... like all we do is wanna fight ... and a lot of the Lebanese guys don't do justice for our culture?

The above comments reveal that a lack of objective knowledge within the curriculum coupled with the misbehaviour of students of Arab origin within the schools may lead teachers and fellow classmates to come to the incorrectly judge mainstream media bias as indeed be indicative of values espoused within the Arab culture. This demonization of youths of Arab culture in education is described below.

Participants in this research study believed that the educational system was one in which misinformation regarding other cultures should be addressed by teachers who have well-researched background information on contemporary world conflicts. As seen, many participants expressed that although the Middle East conflict receives regular mainstream media coverage; it is not covered or addressed adequately within the educational curriculum. Canadian-Arab youths, therefore, feel their culture and symbols of it become demonized. The negative mainstream media perceptions regarding Arabs and the Middle East seem to become internalized by teachers who do not know much about the history or culture of the region. According to the participants many teachers fall prey to these negative media stereotypes and become perpetuators of them within the educational system this seems especially true for Canadian-Arab Muslim youths. Many Muslim youths commented on how several teachers made negative comments regarding Arab people, culture, and the politics of the region. The following comments of a Canadian-Arab Muslim male demonstrate the nature of the demonization of youths of Arab origin within the educational system:

Quotation #1

Omar: Most of the things I said that happens ....it just gets swept under the rug, they'll try to make an issue out of it but...for instance like I'm trying to think of an example I can give you on that...Okay I'll give you an example a friend of mine he's Lebanese Druze he had those bandana shirts you know the ones with all the different flags of the Arab countries on it? He had a Lebanese one like that... he actually got kicked out of school for wearing it.

Quotation #2

Khaled: …and he (teacher) says personally, in my opinion I believe Mhommar Ghadafi is insane. And I remember I didn't even know who this guy was but I remember just saying Mhommar Mhommar and I told my dad, my dad couldn't believe it that it was alright for this teacher in front of a Grade six class to give an opinion about Mhommar Ghadafi being insane. Like as if we're gonna know who Mhommar Ghadafi is in the first place…this was back in now, thirteen years ago?

The second above comment reveal that although Khaled did not know who his teacher was speaking about, he repeated the name to his father for additional information. The father was reportedly shocked by the fact that the teacher's personal opinion regarding an Arab leader Mhommar Ghadafi was given to an elementary class. Several participants revealed how teachers' personal opinions regarding the region and its history were discussed in class. Consider the following example in which the participant describes her and a friend's comparisons on University professors constantly misrepresenting Islam and putting Arabs in a negative light:

Quotation # 1

Aisha: … like in one of my classes a week ago, in the textbook it says that Muslim men eat before the women that's the way it is. So that was retarded right? So I said something in my class the next day… one of… in one of my friend's classes…the classics course

Jenny: that was here in University?

Aisha: Yeah in University…and every negative thing, in like every lecture this is what my friends told me. Every lecture that happens he always said in the Islamic world this is unheard of and in the Arab world – like constantly putting Islam and Arabs down?

Quotation # 2

Jenny: Okay…what about the teachers? Do you ever think the teachers… like have you ever heard a comment where it was like completely misrepresenting the Middle East?

Allan: (Christian Male) Yeah I think that they didn't ... they don't understand what Islam is at all…

Most participants agreed that teachers have a limited knowledge based on issues involving the Middle East and felt that the educational system should not be seen as a place in which these teachers publicize their opinions on such sensitive and volatile issues. Many teachers on both the school and university levels during times of Middle East conflict, however, do very little to ease the tensions ongoing between various ethnic groups and may actually say more to harm relationships within the school. When inter-ethnic tensions do arise within the educational sphere the "typical" response by educators is to ignore them.

The following youths' comments offer insights into the ways in which inter-ethnic conflict occurs and is resolved within the schools. They demonstrate how the reinforcement of mainstream media disinformation and stereotypes become appropriated within the educational system through the utterance of denigrating comments made by educators.

Quotation #1

Khaled: Because everybody from right when you walked into the school was bashing Saddam Hussein but was at the same time bashing Arabs too, and these people didn't even know where Iraq was.…I remember specifically one teacher when everything broke out he grabbed me and he tells me, like he was a nice teacher, I have to admit, I liked him…very nice, but he grabbed me and this was his thing was listen Khaled you might hear people saying things and whatever and please you and your friends just don't listen to it and don't let it get to you and that and that. And I told him ok, but I told him I go to him "listen if people say really bad things then we have to say something back, we can't stay quiet" that's what I told him…and he's like "no, no just come talk to me" and I'm like ok. That was about it so I don't remember anybody specifically… see…but yet people will never really be pro-Arab.

Quotation #2

Omar: I've been called a savage by a teacher. Ah sitting in a cafeteria one day, me and my friend we're supposed to clean up our tray after us we left our tray on the table… It was my social teacher actually came and grabbed us and he goes pick up your trays put 'em in the garbage you may do that in your savage country but here in Canada we're clean…I complained to my father, my father who is also... he works in the government…he went and talked to the principal there, he talked to the school board, the conclusion at the

very end? Well I'm not proud of it but as a kid it was a very good deal was an apology, don't show up to my class, and I'll pass you, you only have to write the final exam.

The above examples reveal that teachers can take the opportunity to educate youths when tensions arise within the school system during times of war. Instead, as these comments demonstrate, the teacher decides to ask the youth not to talk back but come into the office in an attempt to resolve the conflict with the youth. This example indicates that there are opportunities in which proactive measures can be taken by teachers within the classroom setting to calm tensions between different students. The fact that the teacher was unprepared to address the situation with the other non-Arab students seems to reveal fear or unwillingness to promote understanding of the damaging nature of conflict. Youths described how tension within the school setting is positively associated with wars involving the Middle East such as the 1991 Gulf war, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the post-911 War on Terrorism. The following examples were given by youths in response to prejudice encountered during politically sensitive periods:

Quotation #1

Aisha: Muslim female…another student that I know of was telling us after the September 11th attacks… he said in this English class first of all the English professor shouldn't be saying anything 'cause he's an English professor. (laughs) Anyway they were talking about it and his English professor started to explain Islam to the students said I'm trying to recall what he said in exact words but like something to the effect you know that Muslims believe in, in fighting for God like Allah and the whole life is centered around like just centered around doing stuff for like not doing stuff but in a negative the way he said it? Like their whole life is centered around jihad like they have to you know, he made it seem like they're all militants that's the way he explained it to us?

Quotation #2

Ahmed…I've heard of that many times girls being harassed and even not just in the September 11th bombing I mean this teacher was questioning them like why do you put that thing on your head? But it's not in a mode that one would inquire about, more ridicule?

So, Canadian-Arab Muslim youth experiences within education reveal how assimilation seems preferred over the maintenance of their ethno-religious minority values. The fact that the University Professor in the first example reinforces mainstream media

disinformation within the educational institution even when the topic being taught has nothing to do with Islam or Arabs, should be a matter of concern to educational policy makers. Additionally, the youth in the second example believes that the principal and teacher are sweeping the racist incident under the rug and thereby adding to the dissonance youth experience while demonstrating how the educational system is ill-equipped at effectively encountering such incidents. For Muslim youth, racism in their educational experiences, societal scrutiny, and national policies which target them, lead them to question the effectiveness of state-based solutions such as multiculturalism.

The lived experiences of Canadian-Arab youth demonstrate their resilience in being able to maintain their cultural and religious values in the face of consistent denigration and misrepresentation of their values in mainstream media, societal institutions, and education. Youths felt that the educational system and curricula avoided providing a more objective perception on Middle East conflict for fears that this would somehow be perceived as supporting an Arab or Islamic agenda. Some youth were told to keep quiet even when it was clear that they were the victims of injustice and prejudice within the schools. Consequently, there seems to be an "unspoken common sense" which provides support to the fact that alternative representations are deemed threatening. These thoughts were echoed throughout the study and are described in the following sections.

Exclusionary Educational Practices and Youths Advice to Teachers

All participants perceived the role of educators as critical in providing students with the necessary tools to analyze everyday information. The fact that teachers would devalue, ignore, misrepresent, issues involving the Middle East and Arab culture or history seemed to participants, to signal a lack of moral obligation on the educator's and educational policy makers part to truly provide youth with a solid educational foundation. Participants felt that one of the primary roles of education to instil in youth moral values and steer students towards tolerance and understanding rather than away from them. Instead, the findings of this research indicate that the views espoused within the school system tend to reinforce dominant media and government views on Middle East conflict. Canadian-Arab Muslim youths specifically, felt silenced, misunderstood, and even demonized. The following quotation by a Canadian-Arab Muslim youth describes his evaluation of the educational system's role in effectively dealing with issues involving the Middle East:

> *Khaled: Well for one thing we have what I believe when it comes to world affairs, especially we here I'm going to talk specifically about the Middle East, we have the most distorted, one-sided explanation possible…but like I mean that literally, you can't get much worse than this. And… it's like it's like we're an educational institution, so we're supposed to be really objective and very unbiased we want people to …when they get information they always teach you to be a, a sceptic., to look at information and not believe everything lightly or try to listen to both sides, yet we grow up from Kindergarten to high school education or University and we're only given one side of the facts. How can a person be objective? If you're only giving them one side of the story…like for example the Arab-Israeli conflict…It's like you should see books about what happened in 1948 when the*

Israelis came in written by Palestinians, pro-Palestinian, even right wing Palestinians…and moderate Palestinians, and right wing Jews and moderate Jews and everything and we should be able to make our own, our own choice of what's really happening…Like how can everyone know everything about something yet know nothing about it?

Clearly these comments demonstrate Khaled's frustration with the perception that although the educational system does touch on Middle East issues many times, it does so with a one-sided perspective. This, according to him, leaves many high school graduates feeling that they have learned everything they need to know about the Middle East but yet an objective perspective which takes into consideration both sides of the conflict is lacking in what they learned. The following quotation demonstrates how the youth feels that fair representation in education with regards to the Middle East history, culture, politics, and/or religion should be considered by educators as a moral obligation

Ahmed: I think that the teachers have an obligation if they are going to talk about the subject to talk about it in a neutral manner to bring for example, articles written by ah, ah not just Western, Westerners but um also people from the Middle East or if they are by Westerners some that are you know neutral for example when they invaded and that, what was their land I mean just say just the simple facts you don't have to go into detail that this land was not Israel's …

The comments provided by these participants indicate a hope among youths that the educational system can rid all Canadians of stereotypes and misinformation in the media and popular culture. Yet, as the findings indicate, most participants felt that teachers reflected media stereotypes and negative popular culture images regarding Arabs their culture, religion, and history. Most Canadian-Arab youths thought that even the educational curricula when touching on issues involving the Middle East history or politics was extremely one-sided and biased. These negative images and stereotypes regarding Arabs also went uncontested at the post-secondary levels. The fact that mainstream media disinformation permeates educational institutions whether at the school or university level should be a matter of serious concern to education and government policy makers. For such racism to continue may signal the breeding of more bigotry which has the potential of creating serious national conflict in the future.

All youth participants described how teachers should do some independent research into issues involving the Middle East before presenting their own personal opinions in class. Youths were asked to suggest come activities teachers could embrace within education to even the balance of the negative images of Arabs and Muslims:

Quotation #1

Patricia: read other stuff, never, never and this is not only CNN, this is like common knowledge. You don't take one source at face value you always have to back it up, 'cause I think bring in a different perspective. Bringing in you know memoirs, people who've actually been there, don't rely on the second hand information always.

Quotation #2

Yasmine: What I would do is I know for a fact like I've even seen some Palestinians documentaries of peoples' lives I would show that as well as what happens to, you know how Israelis suffer as well from the events. So show both those sides …documentaries that were made by locals…that's where you get the truth.

Quotation #3

Omar: … I had one teacher he…did go…he went to Philastine (Palestine) and he's been there…and he's even said that a lot of stuff that you watch on the media is not, it's not true it's not a true story …he goes if you'd like, he would not go into detail but if you would like to know, what's the truth, what's not the truth, he said you should go research it more...to find out the truth…and he ended it at that. Look for facts don't just believe what you hear on TV.

The above participants' comments by the youths all seem to point to the notion that their school systems should try to teach their students to go beyond the mainstream media through the use of documentaries, alternative perspectives, or even simple suggestions to students for further research. According to some participants North Americans do not understand what their country's (i.e. mainly Canada and the US,) international conduct and foreign policy are. This makes them ignorant about the feelings and views of the diversity of people within their own multicultural mosaic which is also detrimental to inter-ethnic relations.

Aisha: in schools I would suggest that we would really diversify the things that we cover especially in Social Studies like the topics or anything else like it's very ...it's really it makes it boring and it's like people here, like the way they are now you know like they really don't know. And then North America is supposed to be democratic … we should really know what they're doing to other countries the countries that they're influencing and the different cultures. Like we say that we're like you know a mosaic and stuff like this. Are we really? I

don't think so because I look at some other peoples' reactions here you know?

Aisha's comments suggest that most Canadians and North Americans generally, do not realize what influence their country's foreign policies have on other countries worldwide. Moreover, the fact that many Canadians and Americans are of Arab and/or Islamic background and hold completely different views on current world events seems to suggest an important divide in Canadian society which does not bode well for the future. To be ignorant of the diversity of opinions in one's own culture seems to demonstrate a lack of real multiculturalism at its deepest core. As one Eastern Orthodox Sunday School teacher Sandra states:

Sandra: The only thing I would say is really to learn about your students, it's so vital to learn about what other cultures are, what, what's your student coming from? It's sad to see how ignorant some people could be especially since it's so simple – how could they be? – Look through the Discovery Channel and check out other peoples' or history channel – what they're coming from. What experiences they've had, to essentially live there if you have a student from all over the world, you know good books, good magazines, to get an insight a little taste of what your students have gone through …

The effects of mainstream media disinformation on Canadian-Arab youths' educational experiences mirror their experiences in society. Consider the following comments given by a youth who is describing the unfair treatment afforded to a friend of his who has been targeted by the state for his political views and is living in fear of future police intimidation. These comments regarded a situation that occurred prior to September 11, 2001. The friend of this participant was described as living in fear and paranoia due to the manner he was questioned and treated by authorities. The arguments illustrate the importance for policy makers to consider the influence wars and conflicts have on the lived experiences of youths. Khaled's comments regarding the perception of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as affecting his life in Canada is important. The youths' comments reveal how exclusionary policies can instil hatred in those who previously had no such resentment. These comments also reveal how much Arab-Muslim commonsense perceives, the new War on Terror as a war against Muslims which is directly related to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict and as responsible for the demonization of Muslims worldwide and increasingly in North America:

Khaled:…'cause he's gonna hate the police, he's gonna hate the RCMP, he's gonna probably over time, if they make his life hard enough he's gonna hate Jews…because he's gonna feel like you guys are making my life hell I left Palestine to escape you guys making my life hell and I came to Canada. Now here in Canada, you same people are making my life hell again, making me live like a prisoner, and it'll keep fuelling people like that and you'll create a terrorist… You'll create somebody like that, why? Just because if you look back

at who the person was and what made them into what they are, it's just the society you guys have made somebody like that.

Throughout this chapter, Canadian-Arab youths have expressed how they feel perplexed at the simplicity involved in educating students about ongoing conflicts such as the Middle East from a variety of perspectives and the resistance to doing so. This feeling was accompanied with their frustration at the fact that the perceptions of educators reflected those of the mainstream media and the state. Moreover, students thought that when conflict did emerge between students or between students and their teachers, educational administrators (e.g. school principals) could facilitate and open dialogue aimed at facilitating understanding and respect between students instead of avoiding such positive actions altogether. Because this facilitation does not occur, some youths pointed to a general need for federal government involvement in raising awareness regarding Arab culture, Islam, the religious diversity and politics of the region. Youths suggested that if educators do not have the time to read and research alternative perspectives, then they should suggest their students do independent research. This point is significant since such findings indicate that if teachers were to take such proactive measures it would greatly reduce cognitive dissonance while perhaps defusing inter-ethnic conflicts within the schools.

One youth described his feeling that the interviews were a cathartic experience for him and he questioned why the government and educational boards have not taken it upon themselves to respond to the needs of Muslim or Arabs in Canada. He describes how teachers, educational and government policy makers should assume a moral responsibility when it comes to issues of concern to Arab- and Muslim-Canadians:

Ahmed: I feel relaxed with the both interviews I mean I'm not that shy as you know people know me but you know it's just I feel that kind of … like I don't talk about this stuff much right? Because it's kind of in my mind, redundant to talk about because I mean it's just this ongoing thing and there's no on there to talk about it to. I mean I'm usually with Muslims who have the same perspective so I don't talk about it with them because it's going to make you angry unless it's something of ignorance and I don't talk about it really with you know, people at work or something because you know when you start saying something they're… they don't really listen to you, because they think that ok you're just biased. And so it's when I start talking about it I kind of feel ah more you know passionate about the subject itself because it's really actually frustrating that you know I have to sit here and try and help you know a University student or graduate student PhD on a subject right? To try and curb the way teaching is done in Canada right? And this is not my position in Canada. I'm here as a student I was born and raised here and I don't have to come and change the policies of Canada. This is not my responsibility. The Canadian government themselves should look into how things are taught it shouldn't require some University student to compose something they should have inquiries themselves to see what's going on. And the media, they should examine the media and how the media does things. So it's very frustrating to see this ***very extremely slow*** *process of educating the public about you know ah*

the world situation and how things are taught in Canada and how, how people are taught because even when you go to Junior high students and elementary students and they have the same views as many of the older people have and that's because they aren't being told and the teachers either stay away or give a rude remark here or there and so that to me is very frustrating and I feel it's very…taking a lot of time to get something that should be should have been done many years ago.

He continues stating that the response of individuals of Arab and specifically, Islamic background in the face of "oppression" in education and society since the events of September 11, 2001, should be informed by dignity.

Ahmed: I mean I don't think I don't think that they should have to change, I think that any Arabs specifically Muslims who come here to Canada should not be really very afraid if anything happens although recently you never know but I, I just advise them to be themselves because I mean just because you're oppressed or, or your views are in the minority doesn't mean you give up your views, cause you have your own dignity and so you can take away many things from me but you can't take away… if you took away my dignity then you've taken everything …

Discussion/Conclusion

The above findings indicate that youths place a great deal of trust and faith in the educational system to educate all students about stereotypes and misrepresentation regarding their and other cultures in general. Although youths felt that they recognized the challenges educators may face when attempting to educate on culture, religion and ethnicity, they still expressed their belief that something could still be done to educate students on where to get information if they were interested in learning more about a certain part of the world or its politics. For them, a change of practice was imperative.

Youths proposed small suggestions such as documentaries on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or on the Gulf War conflicts with the US. If teachers had no time they should reserve their opinions and ask students to read other sources and investigate more than one perspective. Another notion which various participants seemed to emphasize was the fact that they felt there was no room that would be permitted within the educational system to educate students on Middle East issues or conflict. Several participants regarded the responsibilities of teachers and educational policy makers seriously and that they should implement a holistic multicultural education and emphasize that there seems to be an institutionalized form of intolerance when it comes to issues involving the Middle East. The

youth responses also indicated that teachers may be very wary of bringing up anything objective regarding Middle East conflict for their own personal fears.

There appears to be very little in-depth education regarding developing countries. Furthermore, the history of the Middle East conflict seems to signal to participants that the education they have been currently experiencing (even at the University level) was far from multicultural. Youths did not necessarily wish to only focus on the Middle East. Instead, many expressed a strong interest in learning about other religions (e.g. Buddhism or Hinduism) and cultures and (e.g. Africa or Latin America). The fact that the educational curricula solely focused on very specific topics in Canadian history such as British or French settlement and mistreatment of Native people seemed removed from the everyday lives and diversity of lived experiences of the diverse student population. None of the participants ever recalled learning when the first Canadian-Arabs arrived to Canada, not to mention the vast majority of Canada's other many ethnic groups. According to the participants, the nature of education in Canada seemed to negate (ironically) the country's policy on multiculturalism as only "white" Western European history in social studies. When there was history or social studies coverage on non-white history or culture, it was usually presented from a Western-based perspective which seemed to denigrate the perspectives of others.

Contrary to orthodox educational rhetoric, participants viewed Canada's multicultural perspective as highly assimilationist. The values embraced in the educational system seem to espouse an "Anglo-American" liberal value system in which competition and free-market liberalism were the dominant ethos. Survival of the fittest students is also associated with well-off parents who are able to purchase the best educational services for their children. (Kachur, 1999; Easton, 1999). Increasingly, it seems education is being tailored to meet corporate interests rather than representing the needs of ethnic minorities and low socio-economic students. The fact that youth are given very little to no understanding on this country's diversity or the history of its diversity in education seems to lead to the notion that their cultures that minority cultures are still not considered "as Canadian" as others. This illustrates how human capital rather than cultural capital and other forms of symbolic capital is the most important and only determinant of school and social success.

America's new War on Terrorism and recent changes to Canada's constitution to including new anti-terrorism laws seem to further alienate Canadian-Arabs especially Muslims and devalue their potential cultural contributions. Many Canadian-Arabs are now feeling that their ability to express their political view points on Middle East conflict is restrained for fear of being mistaken as sympathizing with terrorism. Unfortunately, Canadian-Arabs have experienced racism related to media coverage of Iraq or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and must continually brace themselves for further negative experiences in this regard. The rising tensions which occurred during the 1991 Gulf war or the 2003 tensions between the US, UK and Iraq further exacerbates tensions, and leads youth to become apprehensive about the possibilities of their fears of having to endure yet another round of discrimination. The educational system seems either ill-equipped or unwilling to deal with the consequences of ongoing political conflict in the Middle East. Youth responses in the study demonstrate that education is in fact an institution in which racism and prejudice seem to have a fertile ground. Policy reform which does not consider experiences of various ethnic groups and the diversity within any one ethnic group in the school during times of conflict or turmoil in their countries of origin undermines any legitimate reference to an ethic of multiculturalism. Policy *transformation* might help teachers to build bridges between various ethnicities and therefore contribute to the safety and stability of their society and indeed, country.

Part III

Social Theoretical Analysis

Chapter Nine

The Social Psychological and Critical Sociological Levels of Identity Formation

Part I of this study examined the nature of the research problem conceptualized, and illustrated the relevant arguments in the field with regard to the issue of identity formation. It also included a discussion of the literature and social theories used in previous studies and the perceived usefulness of these theories and literature to this study. In Part II, I examined the research findings as they pertain to the key social theoretical concepts examined in this research. This section illustrated the importance of using neo-Gramscian theory as well as select arguments from feminist, masculinity, and gender- based theories in describing hybrid youth identity and values. Part III focuses on the social psychological and social structural and theoretical analysis of the findings in Part II. Chapter Nine will analyze the findings on Canadian-Arab youth identity described throughout this and the preceding five chapters, on the individual psychological and critical sociological levels. Chapter Ten will describe the findings in light of the national and global levels, policies, and events. The findings reveal how on the individual and social levels Christian and Muslim youths differ.

The individual and critical sociological analysis of the findings examines cognitive dissonance and the maintenance of hybrid values from youths' interactions. The nature of youths' social interactions between mainstream society and its media on the one hand, and the ethno-religious and cultural values obtained from the family and other alternative media sources, will be analyzed from the psychological theories of Erik Erikson and Leon Festinger. The analytical findings will illustrate the nature of the differences among the three groups identified as religious, less religious Muslim youths and Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youths. The critical sociological level described by Axel Honneth will be used to illustrate the role of denigration or disrespect on ethnic group identity and the pre-conditions for a struggle for recognition. Honneth's theory will also be used in connection with Gender Based Analysis to examine the changing nature of gender values. As will be illustrated, Muslim youth responses become increasingly unified as both religious and less religious youths expressed how they felt their identity struggle on the micro-level was directly connected to the global threat against Islam. Because Eastern Orthodox Christians do not experience such disrespect personally or as a group in Canada the nature of their social group interactions qualitatively differs. This chapter will therefore examine these identity politics.

As illustrated throughout the study's findings the process of Canadian-Arab youth identity formation is invariably influenced by globalization and the global media. The research has considered the way in which the "new media voices" of Arab satellite television programs have impacted upon traditional Arab values in the West such as in Canada or the US. As demonstrated throughout the study's findings, Canadian-Arab youth socialization is informed primarily by the family in which youth learn ethno-cultural and religious values. As seen, these cultural values may be accepted or rejected by youths but this choice is largely influenced by vicarious learning through social friends within the ethno-religious sphere or education and societal spheres. Youths' cultural values may or may not be reinforced by the

school system depending on the nature of the school system. For the majority of youth excluding religious Muslims, the social values reinforced within the educational system is in opposition to their own. Therefore, the type of school attended; the ethnic makeup of the geographical location of the school; the area in which families reside; the friends youth socialize with; and the influence of media representations of Arab during times of war and conflict all impact upon hybrid identity reconciliation and youth experiences with dissonance.

As seen in the previous chapter, Canadian-Arab youths' educational experiences reveal how the educational system is seen as exclusionary during times of war, and how North American mainstream media representations exacerbate such practices. As a result of this, Canadian-Arab youths' identities have been actively contested although this struggle is more manifest for Muslim than Christian youths. As discussed, the main reason for the latter seems related to the impact of media representation on Muslim youths' dissonance in both their educational and societal experiences. As a result, Muslim youths feel the need to defend their identities, religious values, and beliefs against the powerful and negative effects of the media which negatively impact on their lives in Canada. For Muslim youths their struggle against these media representations in itself illustrate what their Arab/Islamic commonsense already infers, and that is, that Islam is now the new global enemy.

While Christian youths in this study experienced general sources of dissonance in both Muslim and non-Arab Canadian circles they do not encounter the adverse impact of mainstream media representations on their social relationships and interactions in education and society to the same extent. Moreover, the way Canadian-Eastern Orthodox Christians tend to perceive educational experiences, national and international policies seem influenced by the hybrid nature of their cultural values and not due to a personal threat perceived by them. Consequently, and as discussed throughout this thesis, many Christian youths intended to use Western/Canadian based discourses prevalent in mainstream media and influenced by parents' lived experiences in the country of origin.

This chapter analyzes the individual psychological level of Canadian-Arab youth identity by using Erik Erikson's (1965) identity development theory and Leon Festinger's (1981) Cognitive Dissonance theory as well as the resolution of dissonant identities by Barazangi (1987). On the critical sociological level, Axel Honneth's (1989) Social Recognition theory is used to explain the nature of the social groups which youths interact in and how these interactions are influenced by youths' experiences with dissonance. These theoretical understandings will explain hybrid identity reconciliation among the youths in this study and will "tease out" the differences in their individual identity, parental socialization, friends, and educational experiences. Honneth's theory will also be used to illustrate the powerful force of globalization on traditional Canadian-Arab gender values. Honneth's discussion will be complemented with a neo-Gramscian Gender Based Analysis. Gender based analysis drawing on Islamic feminist, womanist, and masculinity theories will be used to examine the socialization and culturally constructed gender roles of males and females. Because of the variation in perceptions of gender based values among the participants in this study, GBA will be used to dissect these intricacies. These individual psychological and critical sociological understandings will be complemented with an analysis of identity on national and global theories in the following chapter.

Youth Participant Profile

The twelve youth participants in this study ranged between 18 and 23 years of age and had parents who emigrated from the Middle East to establish new lives in Canada and are therefore considered first generation Canadian-Arabs. The majority of participants stated that they were enrolled in University at the time of the study and reported feeling proud of their ethnic backgrounds as young adults. The majority of youths furthermore reported how they did not feel the need to hide their identities regardless of the social or political situations in the region, mainstream media interpretations of such conflicts, and/or perceived harassment and denigration by others in education and/or society. Youth participants also stated how their lives in Canada created in them a hybrid identity which was neither fully Canadian nor fully Arab but instead represented a combination of both.

Individual Level of Analysis and Identity

On the individual level of psychological analysis, Erikson's (1968) theory of identity is useful in that it provides a general overview of the psychological challenges encountered by adolescents and young adults. His theory can help explain some of the challenges Canadian-Arab youths encounter during adolescence and young adulthood and why they choose to select the friends they have and how this impacts on their identity. Erikson does not however, describe the complexity involved when reconciling opposing *cultural* values in adolescence. Because of this absence, I have incorporated Leon Festinger's (1957) cognitive dissonance theory to supplement Erikson's work in analyzing identity on the individual level. Barazangi's work is useful in explaining the resolution of dissonant hybrid identities. Her work on Muslims in the American context has led to her theorizing the various mechanisms by which youths are able to resolve opposing vales in their hybrid identities. As mentioned in the introduction, cognitive dissonance examines how individuals strive to create consistency in their actions, attitudes, and values, and has been used by cultural researchers such as Mustapha (1987) in his analysis of Muslim Canadian student experiences.

Social Interactions and Identity

On the social level of identity analysis, Honneth's (1991) struggle for recognition theory is used because it shows how individuals create the social groups in which they choose to interact and from which they desire to receive recognition. For Honneth self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem must be received by an individual from others whom the person in question wishes to receive recognition from. The acquisition of self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem form the basis for healthy identity development. Honneth's theory is important in explaining *who* Canadian-Arab youth value affiliating with and how this influences the way they identify themselves. He demonstrates how lack of group recognition or shared group disrespect is important in paving the way for the possibility of social struggle. He also examines how culturally accepted norms such as honour wane in light of social and historical changes such as modernization and globalization. Honneth's theory is, therefore, extremely useful in teasing out the diversity in the experiences of Canadian-Arab youths. These theoretical works of Erikson, Festinger and Honneth provide valuable insights for the analysis of the process of hybrid identity reconciliation among Canadian-Arab youths in light of their individual and social experiences.

An Analysis of the Individual Level of Identity: Erikson's Identity Theory

According to the seminal work of identity theorist Erik Erikson (1968), individual identity is never entirely developed but rather involves a life-long process of reconciling one's notion of self with one's experiences and immediate environments. Through interactions and social comparisons with others, children begin the process of developing their self-esteem and information gathering for their self-concepts. The development of identity, therefore, is considered a result of the socialization process during which one acquires values from one's interactions with culture/s, educational, familial, and societal settings.

The identity formation process, according to Erikson (1968) begins during infancy and involves the infant's interactions with the primary caregiver, the mother. Identity development continues until old age through a series of eight life stages which require the resolution of a corresponding identity issue. At each stage, individual identity development may be enhanced or hampered by the way in which the stage and its corresponding struggle, are encountered. If the stage is resolved appropriately, the individual is said to have carried a "virtue" or psychosocial strength that will aide the resolution of crises in the following stages.

Most of the participants in this study were encountering issues specific to the identity formation vs. role diffusion stage. According to Erikson (1968), identity vs. role diffusion involves the development of one's sense of identity in spheres such as one's future occupation, gender roles, politics, and religion. In addition to the various identity struggles adolescents find themselves in, the identity formation process for Canadian-Arab youths this study is further complicated by their interaction with the Arab Islamic or Christian communities which espouse many values which contradict those in the majority secular Canadian culture.

Erikson's Identity Development in Adolescence

During adolescence youth attempt to discover their identity or certain unique characteristics that they hold which distinguishes them from others. Typically, in North American educational settings, youth achieve this by surrounding themselves with other individuals who think, act, and even look alike. Such groups are commonly referred to as "cliques," the members of which share and reinforce each other's behaviours, values, and lifestyles. Erikson referred to such behaviour as "repudiation" by which individuals deny their need for identity or for belonging in the adult world by choosing to interact by fusing with a group of individuals who share the same values. Friends provide a frame of reference which allows one to feel positively reinforced in their values and lifestyles. Consequently, youth learn to acquire a sense of identity which is defined by Erikson (1968) as a sense of "...knowing where one is going, and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count" (p. 165). The notion that youths value recognition from those that matter to them is of significant value for this study since many of the Canadian-Arab Muslim and Christian participants have prioritized their ethno-religious identities over the "ambiguous" Canadian multicultural identity. Hence their primary frame of reference may involve, for example, solely the Islamic community vs. friends from the educational system. For the

Canadian-Arab youths in this study, repudiation may involve learning about one's religion or culture vs. rejecting the adult world. Successful resolution of Erikson's identity vs. role diffusion means one has a sense of fidelity or loyalty to one's society and willingness to live by its rules despite imperfections.

Cultural Interaction, Identity and Cognitive Dissonance

For Canadian-Arab youth, any discussion on identity formation during adolescence or young adulthood must consider their interaction within and between the two cultures shaping their belief systems and socio-cultural values. This is especially important since the study's findings suggest that the validity of the ethno-cultural values acquired from family and ethno-religious communities seem called into question within the educational and societal setting/s. This questioning occurs increasingly during times of conflicts involving the Middle East and is exacerbated by mainstream media representations of such conflicts. Thus while Erikson's theory demonstrates how youths engage in a denial of their need for adults or the adult world, the situation of many Canadian-Arab especially Muslim youths in this study indicates that they are not so much interested in resisting the adult way of life as they are in emphasizing the need to interact with Muslims or Arabs (i.e. stick to "their own kind") to learn more about the cultural values of their parents and ethnic communities or to avoid negative stereotypes. Consequently, one's loyalty or sense of fidelity may in fact be directed towards the ethno-religious community as opposed to secular Canadian society.

The educational experiences of Canadian-Arab youth interacting within and between two cultures demonstrates how they inevitably encounter a unique "cultural cognitive problematic" specific to their lived experiences with these cultural spheres. The findings of this research suggest that the school system, although celebrating diversity was, by and large, assimilationist. For many of the youths, the knowledge reproduced within school system by teachers and the educational curriculum denigrated the Arab culture. Youths respond to this in a variety of ways. More religious Muslim participants felt a duty to correct their educators through their own knowledge of Islam or the Arab world and many did so within the University educational setting. The responses of less religious Muslim or Christian participants revealed that they would try to raise awareness within their own circle of friends. Such differential experiences point to the importance of Leon Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory in describing the value clash and tensions encountered by the youth in this study in their experiences within the school setting.

Cognitive Dissonance Theory and Identity

Cognitive dissonance theory is a social psychological theory describing how the individual strives to be consistent or achieve a state of "consonance." When one encounters situations which challenge one's attitudes or belief systems a negative state of tension or dissonance, one is said to be experiencing a state of "cognitive dissonance." Dissonance is most aroused when the attitudes or behaviours experienced are considered important to one's notion of self. As discussed earlier, the term dissonance has been appropriated by scholars such as Mustapha (1987) who use it to describe the experiences of Muslim Canadian students within the educational setting. This study seeks to examine the methods used by individual youth participants in reconciling opposing or inconsistent cultural values from both Canadian and Arab cultures to achieve a hybrid identity (a mixture of both) and at a working consistency with the society.

The following example appropriated from Waugh and Wannas-Jones (2003) illustrates doctrinal dissonance: a married Catholic mother who has several children and becomes pregnant may experience "cognitive dissonance" due to her desire to terminate the pregnancy while the priest and the Catholic Church view the procedure as immoral. To reduce the negative state of tension resulting from this pregnancy the Catholic woman may decide to seek the support and consultation of a Catholic pro-choice group. The result is a reduction in cognitive dissonance, (i.e. she has accepted the alternative Church position, and proceeds with the abortion). The negative state of tension may still have an effect, since she may not be convinced that her actions are in line with the Church's doctrinal position, but she nevertheless has arrived at some kind of consonance. The woman's choice to discuss her options with the Catholic pro-choice group allows her to achieve consonance because she has still consulted the "Catholic" but alternative position on abortion.

Factors Influencing Canadian-Arab Cognitive Dissonant Experiences

According to participant responses in this study, the presence of other individuals of similar ethnic or cultural background serves to greatly ease the cognitive dissonance encountered by individual Canadian-Arab youth in education and society. The feeling that there are a number of youths within the school system who share the same cultural and/or religious beliefs seems to provide youths with a sense of self-confidence. This is especially important since the findings reveal how the school system is considered extremely negative in its treatment of Canadian-Arab students. This finding is in line with previous research conducted over the last several decades which described degrading depictions of Arabs within the educational curricula and the negative educational experiences of Canadian-Arabs within schools as a result of mainstream media disinformation (Lenny, 1981; Suleiman, 1999; Shaheen, 2001).

Unfortunately, decades of media stereotypes and disinformation have left educators with negative information regarding Arab culture, which remain uncorrected within the educational system but even taught as fact by teachers. Learning denigrating information or representations of their parents' and the ethno-religious community leads many youth to encounter various potentially cognitively dissonant experiences throughout elementary and secondary school years. Yet this study's findings suggest that the larger the numbers of individuals from the same Arab ethnicity within the school the greater the chances for individual Canadian-Arab youth to expand their frame of reference regarding their ethno-cultural and religious values. This is especially helpful for enhancing the arguments youths use to counter negative stereotypes and information in the dominant culture and institutions, thereby helping them reduce or eliminate dissonance. As mentioned, more religious Muslim youth participants were enrolled in schools where the population of Arab and Muslim students was large, and hence, their experiences with dissonance were minimized. Conversely, less religious Muslims and Eastern Orthodox Christians enrolled in ethnically diverse educational settings where there were fewer Arabs and/or Muslims and were therefore more prone to experience cognitive dissonance.

Barazangi and the Resolution of Dissonant Identities

Barazangi (1989) hypothesizes that the clash between traditional Arabic/Islamic values and the omnipresence of less religious values may result in three main patterns of behaviour. First, youths may reject their parents' beliefs about Arabic cultural and religious values and practices altogether. Second, they may continue to have an unresolved conflict between their culture and belief system and consequently may compartmentalize their behaviours by having two or three sets to be used in different social situations. Third, they may reject the familial transmission of Islam or Eastern Christianity to them by their family and adopt a wholly new means to apply Islamic, Eastern Christian, and Arabic values.

The overwhelming majority of Canadian-Arab Muslim youths in this study lived and attended school in a predominantly Arab section of The City. Half of the study's Muslim participants attended a private Islamic school in the neighbourhood. These youths seem to fall into the isolationist category defined by S. Abu-Laban and B. Abu-Laban (1999). The youths who attended private Islamic schools were more likely not to socialize outside their predominantly Muslim circles because of the dissonance experienced. This group, therefore, falls into Barazangi's third conception of identity in which youths discover new means of applying Islamic and Arabic cultural values deemed more suitable in responding to the challenges presented within the Canadian context. Although these more religious youths held Islamic values which were similar to their parents, the way in which they articulate Islamic arguments seemed tailored to their lives in the to Canadian societal setting. Conversely, less religious Muslim youth (i.e. those who find religion extremely important but do not define themselves by it), tend to compartmentalize their behaviour according to the social situation. These youths prefer not to become heavily involved with the Islamic community because they do not consider it consistent with how they identify themselves.

The resolution of Canadian-Arab dissonant identities seems to fit into two of the three types of categories identified by Barazangi (1989): identifying a new means to apply religion and culture and second compartmentalizing identity. Religious Canadian-Arab Muslim youths who regularly attend the Mosque and also attended the Islamic school as mentioned have discovered a new means of applying their religion to fit the socio-cultural context. Conversely, less religious Muslim youth (i.e. those who find religion extremely important but do not define themselves by it) tend to compartmentalize their behaviour according to the social situation. Finally, Eastern Orthodox-Canadian Christians define themselves by their religious affiliation or ethnicity in varying circumstances and hence also tend to compartmentalize their identities according to the social situation.

Most Christian participants resided in a different ethnically diverse geographical area of town and attended schools which were also ethnically diverse. The identity process of Eastern Orthodox Christian youths, regardless of their individual degree of religiosity, is largely unified by the "Eastern Orthodox" socialization as children and young adults in Canada. It did not seem appropriate, therefore, to categorize Canadian-Arab Christian youths in this study according to their degree of religiosity or interaction with the ethno-religious community since Eastern Orthodox ethno-religious values seemed to dominate the interviews. Consequently, the majority of Eastern Orthodox youths' perceptions of the political situation in the Middle East as well as their perceptions of Islam as a religion were heavily influenced by a "Eastern Orthodox discourse" unique to Eastern Orthodox Christians and which may differ greatly from other Christian Arabs in the region. The Eastern Orthodox Canadian discourse is primarily influenced by four factors. First, the

notion that Eastern Orthodox is distinguishable from "Arab" the latter of which is considered by Eastern Orthodox Christians to be affiliated with Islam. Second, the fact that within Islamic countries such as Egypt Eastern Orthodox Christians have been actively discriminated against and killed with little to no punishment by the state and very little international condemnation. Third, the general frustration shared by Eastern Orthodox Canadians with the lack of knowledge among North Americans of the existence of Christians in the Middle East, and the history of ancient Christianity in the region. Finally, many Canadian-Arab Muslims tend to exclude their Eastern Orthodox Christian counterparts in ethnic community or social events because of the faulty stereotype that they are considered allies of the West, Western Christianity, and Israel and share the same values.

These factors summarize the lived and shared experiences of Eastern Orthodox Canadian youths from this group while demonstrating the importance of religion in identity regardless of degree of religiosity. Erikson's (1968) theory demonstrates how youths may be repudiating the majority culture in order to learn more about the values related to their specific ethno-cultural group. Festinger's (1954) cognitive dissonance theory similarly illustrates how cognitive dissonance varies according to the way in which youths identify themselves. While some youths prefer to identify themselves in reference to their religious affiliation, others prefer to identify in reference to their ethnicity i.e. specific country of origin. As a result of the varied lived experiences of youths, they have qualitatively different sources of and experiences with dissonance. Barazangi's (1987) three different approaches to the resolution of dissonant hybrid identities illustrate the various mechanisms that may be used by youths. This may involve combining different cultural values, rejecting values transmitted by parents, or finding a novel mechanism of applying them to the new social context.

Cognitive Dissonance among Religious and Less religious Canadian-Arab Muslim Youth

The specific categories in which youths are classified throughout this study's analysis refer to how the findings of the study pertain to youths' lived experiences and the reconciliation of cultural values. Religious and less religious Canadian-Arab Muslim youths tend to identify with different social groups and have different sources of dissonance. Youths who are religious tend to identify with others of similar religiosity and tend to experience cognitive dissonance in similar ways. The following sections will examine how the theoretical understandings of Erikson and Festinger relate to the study's findings.

As mentioned, approximately half of the Muslim participants in this study attended an Islamic school for their elementary and junior high school education. This particular school teaches the standard provincial educational curricula in addition to Arabic language and Islamic religion for K-9. These youths spent the remaining three years of senior high in public schools with a high level of Canadian-Arab youth attendance. These participants also expressed a higher degree of religiosity and were more actively involved in ethno-religious community activities. For them, the major source of cognitive dissonance revolved around the lack of understanding by other students and educators of Islam. Dissonance was extinguished by distancing oneself from non-Muslims. The process of referring to one's ethnic identity as Arab, for these more religious youths, was considered inaccurate. Their primary mode of identification was with their religion. These participants described how they generally felt under attack in the media, the educational system, and occasionally by members

of society especially in times of conflict because of mainstream media disinformation on Islam as a religion.

The fact that the youths described above were well-versed enough in their religion to respond to teachers and university professors regarding their misrepresentation on issues involving Islam and the Middle East, seemed to ease some of the dissonance experienced by them in ethnically diverse educational settings (senior high and University). The youths' interaction with other Muslims was beneficial in allowing them to expand their knowledge base on religious teachings of the Quran and *Hadiths*, which they used to refute others' uninformed claims regarding Islam. For religious Muslim youths, cognitive dissonance is not necessarily relieved by interacting with others of Arab heritage since many of these youths may be Christian or Druze, and hence experiences of dissonance may manifest in such interactions. Instead, they chose to engage in social interactions with other non-Arab Muslims as this was considered more appropriate or in consonance with how they identify themselves. Islam, according to these youths, is perceived as an enemy of the US and, therefore, negative propaganda during times of war is intentionally constructed so as to create public animosity for Islam and Muslims which would serve militaristic goals aimed at bombing Arab-Islamic countries such as Iraq. The youths' values allow for them to function with minimal feelings of dissonance because they interact with other individuals of similar ethnic and religious heritage who hold similar perceptions and whose interactions allow for expanding the frame of reference in refuting mainstream media and societal disinformation regarding Islam.

Less Religious Muslim Youth and Dissonance

The remaining Muslim youth participants in this study described themselves as religious but the way in which they identified their social interactions with the Islamic community and the choice of schools attended demonstrated a lesser degree of religiosity than their peers described above. These youths seemed more pre-occupied with the general misrepresentations of Arabs as opposed to solely Islamic misrepresentations. As a result of attending ethnically diverse educational institutions in which they were a minority, there was a larger degree of dissonance experienced by this group than the more religious group. According to these youth responses, cognitive dissonance seemed to be experienced mostly when negative or ignorant remarks were made about the culture and politics of the region. The situation in which the Palestinian people were living was of particular concern to these participants who felt that the mainstream media were biased in favour of the Israelis. Due to the lower level of interaction with the ethno-religious community (due to the dissonance produced), these youths displayed less religious knowledge (of *Hadiths* and or Quran) in refuting claims made about their religion. Unlike the previous group, these individuals experience dissonance because they are more likely to interact with non-Arabs and non-Muslims more regularly and, hence, the chances for engaging in conversations or activities which may not be in congruence with one's attitudes and beliefs is greater.

For both less religious and religious Arab-Muslim Canadian youths, therefore, the experiences of cognitive dissonance are perceived to be not a fault of their own actions perceived as causing dissonance *per se* but rather their very identities as Arabs or Muslims. As a result, many of these youths surround themselves with others of the same religious and/or ethnic background to shield them as a collective from any individual dissonance experienced in the school while gaining an expanded frame of reference on their religious and socio-cultural beliefs. In schools with a dominant Arab cultural student population, dissonance may be reduced for two reasons. First, the large Canadian-Arab student population which

provides a sense of comfort to the individual Canadian-Arab youth and, second, teachers and students through interactions with Canadian-Arab students and parents, learn through experience some of the cultural and/or religious aspects of the Canadian-Arab students they work with. Thus according to the responses of less religious youths enrolled in Islamic schools or public schools with large Arab student populations, the degree of dissonance is greatly reduced.

Within public schools system in which the Canadian-Arab student population is relatively low, youths may form groups according to their religion or according to similar ethnicity. According to the youth responses, such groups, while apparently benefiting its members seem to cause anxiety amongst the teachers within the schools. Youths' reasons included "appearing as a gang" and "a general lack of understanding" by teachers. Many Canadian-Arab male youths found themselves in repeated situations in which they felt the educational system, non-Arab students, and teachers were enemies and therefore may have reacted in an offensive manner which further contributes to teachers' fears and stereotypes. Lack of knowledge by teachers of their students' culture and religion allows such fears to fester causing clashes between and among students as well as teachers.

Cognitive Dissonance and Canadian-Arab Christian Youth

Canadian-Arabs of Christian background seem to experience dissonance in both Canadian-Arab-Muslim and non-Arab Canadian circles. On the Arab side, Christians are not seen as true Arabs because of their religious affiliation which also symbolizes their affiliation with Western Christian countries such as the US, which is seen as responsible for the demise of the Iraqi and Palestinian people. On the Canadian side, Arabs are never assumed to be Christian and any declaration of Christian religious affiliation, does not then serve to make Christians less Arab than Muslims. In fact many Eastern Orthodox Christian youths may experience dissonance in Western Christian based institutions as their Eastern Christian values may be denigrated and perceived as backwards. Similarly, many Eastern Orthodox youth themselves consider Western Christianity and its institutions as embracing a Judea-Christian theology which is far removed from their religious values and beliefs.

Identifying oneself as Eastern Orthodox and then defining what Eastern Orthodox Christianity means seems to be the primary means of responding to issues of identity for Canadian-Arab Christian participants. This demonstrates that, unlike religious Muslim youths, identification with religion for Canadian-Arab Christian youths *is not necessarily* affiliated with degree of religiosity but is used *as a means to differentiate* themselves from Muslim Arabs. As minorities in both Canada and their parents' homeland in the Middle East, Christian youths did not demonstrate as much affiliation and emotion with the politics of the region as their Muslim counterparts. Moreover Canadian-Arab youths of Christian religious affiliation believe that the nature of Islamic state politics complicated life for their parents as religious minorities which, in part, led to their emigration to Canada. Similarly, Islamic politics seem to complicate Canadian-Arab Christian experiences in Canada for being ethnic minorities from countries associated with war, conflict, and terrorism. As a result, Christians might find it useful to emphasize their Christian identity to relieve experiences of dissonance by distancing themselves from being the "demonized other" or the "Muslim."

Canadian-Arab Christian males seem to experience the majority of their dissonance in Arab circles when entering groups which are predominantly Muslim male. Because of the Islamic-linguistic vocabulary used by Muslims within these circles, Christian males

automatically felt left out. Additionally, because much of the conflict in the Middle East has been associated rightly or wrongly with Islam, socio-political discussions easily turned into religious discussions, at which the Christian male is again put at a disadvantage. Because of the cognitive dissonance experienced within these social situations, Canadian-Arab Christian males deal with this dissonance by not choosing to enter such Muslim dominated circles and instead select a friend or two who may be Muslim. They interacted on an individual or an ethnically diverse group level.

By contrast, Christian females often felt the ability to freely interact with their Muslim friends in mixed gender groups predominantly Arab or Muslim. The Christian females in this study did not report feeling at a disadvantage in discussing Middle East conflict or politics in these groups but tried to avoid such issues. The major source of dissonance from the females in the study came due to stereotypes held by their Muslim counterparts regarding Orthodox Christianity's restrictions on female behaviour. The majority of Muslim males and female youth responses in this study revealed that much of the laxity in Western societies such as Canada or the US, according to more religious Muslim participants in this study seemed inherent in the failures of Christianity as a religion and were therefore perceived as being equally attributable to interpretations of Christianity shared by Arabs of Eastern Orthodox Christian background.

Here Canadian-Arab Christians experienced dissonance in a dualistic manner because of the nature of their double minority status. When in interactions with Muslims, Christian males felt rejected and Christian females feel misunderstood. When in interactions with non-Arabs, Christian females and males both reported their frustration with the incorrect yet common presumption that they are Muslim. According to both scenarios, cognitive dissonance was experienced because the youths perceive the need to validate their identities against Muslim and non-Arab Canadian societal misconceptions.

Thus far, I have examined how individual identity is influenced to a large extent by youths' repudiation of the majority culture. The ethno-cultural and religious values taught to Canadian-Arab youths by their parents are challenged during the school years. For religious Muslim youths, who grow up in Canadian-Arab social enclaves and who attend the Islamic or bilingual schools, experiences of repudiation may be minimized. Similarly experiences of cognitive dissonance may be minimized for religious Muslim youths at least until they reach senior high school and/or university. Because the Islamic school has not yet expanded to cover grades nine to twelve, religious youths are left with no alternative but to attend public or public bilingual schools in which incidents causing dissonance may be significantly increased. Conversely, less religious Muslim youths may attend public schools in which they are a minority and therefore are more likely to experience dissonance at an earlier age and for longer periods than their more religious counterparts. For less religious Muslims and Eastern Orthodox Christians who attend schools in which they are a minority, repudiation may take other forms such as familiarizing oneself with others of minority cultural groups. For Canadian-Arab Christians, dissonant experiences are encountered in the public school and with members of the Arab-Islamic community because of misinformation regarding their culture and religion. The influence of the social group with which youths interact may significantly decrease youth experiences of cognitive dissonance as well as their interpretations of honour and shame gender values. These issues will be described through the lens of Honneth's Social Recognition theory. Gender based analysis, and select arguments from feminist and masculinity theories will be used to describe the variation among the youths and their perceptions regarding the gender values of honour and shame.

Critical Sociology: Axel Honneth's Struggle for Recognition

Both Erikson (1968) and Festinger's (1954) theories analyze identity formation at the individual social psychological levels. Honneth's (1995) theory examines the critical sociological nature of identity formation by examining the way in which the individuals are actively engaged in constructing their own social realities and how this construction influences individual experiences with dissonance while influencing one's experience of society. Honneth, drawing on the works of Hegel and Mead, contends that individual identity formation depends on the development of three intersubjective conditions including: self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem all of which "...are acquired once one is granted recognition by others whom one also recognizes" (Honneth, 1995, p. xi). Honneth's theory emphasizes the individual's will to select a social group they wish to be esteemed or recognized by and is thus an important theory in explaining Canadian-Arab identity formation as the youths in this study have varied experiences in their social interactions.

According to Honneth (1995) there are three elements essential for the individual to acquire prior to beginning the process of identity formation. These are (1) love and basic self-confidence, (2) rights and self-respect, and (3) solidarity and self-esteem. Love and basic self-confidence begin to develop during infancy and through the infant's interaction with the mother. Unlike Freud's emphasis on the instinctual patterns of the id, Honneth emphasizes the social interaction of the infant with the primary caregiver which is considered essential to the infant's process of gaining self-confidence. The infant is initially wholly dependent on the mother who is responsible for fulfilling the infants' needs. Gradually, the infant begins to recognize and assert its needs and therefore becomes increasingly capable of encountering the short absences of the parent. Unlike Erikson (1968), Honneth explains how during infancy the parent, too, must become accustomed to the increasing independence of the infant. The parent's distanciation from the infant, becomes of central importance to the infant's identity development. Honneth argues that the infant's capacity to trust oneself during the mother's short absences is considered progress towards individuation. The development of love and self-confidence, unlike rights and self-respect and solidarity and self-esteem, cuts across historical and cultural differences and, if injured, may lead to manifestations of social struggle where basic self-confidence does not.

Similar to the interactive nature of love and self-confidence, self-respect is developed through a series of social interactions with others. Honneth (1995) views self-respect as having changed over time and as embodying the notion that each individual is respected and recognized for being the "...autonomous author of the political and moral laws to which he or she is subject" and that "...every subject of the law must also be its author" (p. xvi). When one feels self-respect one feels entitled to the same status and treatment as everybody else and therefore the same responsibilities. The reason why the notion of self-respect and rights have changed over time, according to Honneth, is because countries may have witnessed an increase in the percentage of people considered citizens and an increase in the content of what it means to be a citizen.

The final and last element necessary for identity formation involves self-esteem and solidarity. According to Honneth (1995), it is not sufficient in itself that individuals be employed to feel they are contributing to society because the employment one may be engaged in might be perceived as insignificant to society. In a good society with a positive climate for solidarity, every member must have a real chance at full self-realization in which "...the common values would match the concern of individuals in such a way that no member of society would be denied the opportunity for his or her contribution to the

common good" (p. xvi). For Honneth, esteem is accorded on the basis of an individual's contribution to a shared project. This project must be valued as important by the individual and the individual's participation in it should, in turn, provide him or her with solidarity to others sharing the same group values. This point is important when describing the situation of ethnic or subaltern groups who feel their culture or identities are being denigrated by the larger popular culture because even if members of these minority cultures receive reinforcement from members within the group it would still be considered difficult to maintain esteem in the face of systematic denigration outside of one's group. According to Honneth, the opportunity to begin identity formation would not be possible simply by eliminating denigrating images or information about these groups, but the elimination would provide the fertile ground necessary for identity development.

Personal Disrespect and Identity

In order to examine the nature of Canadian-Arab youth identity struggle with cognitive dissonance in varying social situations and cultural spheres, it becomes helpful to examine Honneth's (1995) analysis of the notion of disrespect and its effects on identity. As identity formation is dependent on three ingredients, disrespect involves a lack of recognition on two of these levels: rights and self respect and solidarity and self-esteem. Honneth contends that when one's sense of basic self-confidence is injured through experiences of physical abuse or when one feels denigrated one loses trust in oneself and their immediate social environments. But injury to self-confidence is not considered as detrimental as injury to one's sense of self-esteem or self-respect. The second form of disrespect is when one's sense of moral self-respect becomes denigrated in front of others. This involves, first, the denial of one's rights and, second, the realization that such rights are guaranteed to others in society. By experiencing this disrespect an individual endures injury to their feeling of self-respect and as a result may fail to feel oneself as equal to others with whom he or she communicates. The final form of disrespect occurs when one's self-esteem which one has had to work to discover, is degraded. In other words this means that the individual's effort and valued membership in the social group are damaged. [3]

All three forms of disrespect involve the understanding that the individual is being denied social recognition and this may lead to resentment since one feels they have failed at achieving recognition. When one experiences shame, according to Honneth (1995), one feels lower in social value than previously assumed. This individual experience of humiliation leads to some sort of cognitive evaluation which can then serve as an impetus for political resistance as one has experienced the injustice and cognitively discloses it to oneself. This injustice of disrespect does not necessarily lead to political resistance but it allows for its

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[3] Similarly, Charles Taylor (1995) has noted how minority cultures strive to illustrate their authentic identities. Taylor argues that the right of recognition is important for healthy identity development and that misrecognition or the denigrating treatment afforded to certain groups in society may lead them to internalize the damaging effects of hegemony. However Taylor notes that there must first exist an environment which is beneficial to this process. As such, the possibility of a moral struggle increases when all the members within a social minority group feel denigrated by the majority culture. He argues that the when individuals feel that they are not guaranteed equal rights they may either accommodate such differences and therefore consent to the current social hierarchy or they may resist such hegemony. In either case, Taylor argues, this leaves a permanent mark on one's personality.

possibility. It is specifically this point in which Honneth ties disrespect to the emergence of moral struggles that is absent from most sociological theories and which is relevant in gaining an understanding of Canadian-Arab youth identity experiences and struggles within education and multicultural society.

To Struggle or Not To Struggle: Identity Struggle among Canadian-Arab Youth

As mentioned, Honneth's (1995) theory does not presume that injury to any of the three spheres of recognition leads to the preconditions necessary for social conflict. Instead, because the love sphere does not contain a social element to it, it cannot be generalized beyond the circle of primary relationships and, therefore, does not lead to social struggle. In contrast, because rights and esteem are generated socially, they may lead to the possibility of social struggle. Honneth argues that for disrespect to lead to social struggle one must have individual experiences of disrespect that are considered typical for the entire group to which one belongs. But even this is not a guarantee that social struggle will emerge and is another point which distinguished Honneth from numerous scholars in the sociology of conflict. To Honneth, it is entirely open whether or not social groups will deem it necessary to enter a social conflict and whether this conflict would be considered violent, non-violent and so on. There must be a feeling that one's individual experiences of disrespect are shared by other individuals. Thus, cognitive dissonance linked to shared moral concerns via communication (e.g. school, peer, and media socialization), creates the potential for moral struggle and individual agency in a situated social context.

Islam and the Struggle for Recognition

The Canadian-Arab youth identity experiences in this study reveal how elements of social struggle were strongly manifest among more religious Arab-Muslim youths as opposed to less religious Muslims and Christian youths. The research findings suggest that the local Islamic community in The City is extremely politicized. This was reflected in this study's findings among half of the Muslim participants and will be compared and contrasted to the disrespect encountered by less religious Muslims and Christians.

As previously mentioned, religious Muslim youths preferred to identify themselves mainly as Muslims with less emphasis given to their specific ethnic identity as Lebanese or Egyptian. These youths interacted with the religious Islamic community on a weekly basis and were intent on working to pursue the Islamic community interests in the future. Active involvement in the Muslim Students Association at the university level also provided these youths with a forum through which they could raise awareness regarding issues involving Islam. For example, shortly after the tragic events of September 11, 2001, youths invited university students to a workshop entitled "*Jihad* on Campus" the intent of which was to define the term *jihad* according to its prescribed meaning in Islam.

Honneth (1995) argues that "...collective movements....can only be discovered via an analysis that attempts to explain social struggles on the basis of the dynamics of social experiences" (p. 139). According to the participant responses of religious Muslims there is a general feeling that misrepresentation of Islam occurs because it is now considered to be an enemy of the United States. Biblical phrases by the current American President George Bush regarding the War on Terrorism, the drive of the Christian right to bring about the "second

coming" of Christ, new anti-terrorism laws which would regulate the finances of Mosques and Islamic groups in North America, and the daily media denigration of Islam and Muslims are all given as evidence for North American society's exclusion of Muslims as a social group. According to Honneth's theory, such experiences would be best described in context of the second and third forms of disrespect in which rights and self-respect and solidarity and self-esteem are damaged.

While previous research by B. Abu-Laban, and S. Abu-Laban, (1999) indicated that an isolationist response seemed to be emerging among the Canadian-Arab community, the results of this research indicate that while geographically and ideologically isolated, the Muslim community is attempting to do their part in helping raise awareness regarding Islam in education and society to counter the negative effects of media disinformation. This awareness-raising, according to Honneth (1995), seems natural "for it is only by regaining the possibility of active conduct that individuals can dispel the state of emotional tension into which they are forced as a result of humiliation" (p. 138). Therefore while apparently isolated by societal enclaves, many Muslims are now becoming Islamic activists in terms of attempting to raise awareness of the meaning of Islam, proselytizing Islam, organizing protests on Palestine and Iraq, and even lobbying politicians for the expansion of the Islamic educational system and community services.

Less religious Muslims, while demonstrating extreme frustration with the manner in which Islam is portrayed, do not wish to be actively affiliated with the Islamic community because as individuals they do not necessarily share all the values held by the religious community. For example, one Muslim female felt that according to Islam, wearing *hijab* was a personal decision but on attending the Islamic community she felt negative treatment because of her un-covered head. Instead of feeling embraced by the community, her lack of religious fervour left her feeling like a minority and therefore un-welcome in the community. Similarly, males who considered themselves to be Muslim but identified their ethnicity prior to their religion, felt that interacting with the community actively would lead to participation in a variety of religious and community activities many of which seemed to cause them dissonance. Such experiences demonstrate the value in Honneth's social recognition theory because it demonstrates the *differences* in cognitive reasoning which may lead to *different* struggles for recognition.

Arab-Christian Identity Formation and Minority Experience

Unlike religious Canadian-Arab Muslims, Canadian-Arab Christians in this study do not seem to experience "disrespect" as a group. There are two main reasons for this based on the way in which the participants in the study described their identity. First, Canadian-Arab Christians from the countries in which these participants originate, reject the term "Arab" as they considered it to be suggestive of Islamic affiliation. Instead they refer to themselves as indigenous or ethnically pure Eastern Orthodox Christians. Secondly, because Eastern Orthodox Christians are not highlighted at all in the media discourse on terrorism as their fellow Muslim counterparts, the issues causing dissonance qualitatively differ.

The Canadian-Arab Christian youths of this study do not feel as affiliated with the country of origin or with the politics of the region mainly because of their parents' minority status in these countries. However when events in the media were represented in a manner which caused dissonance to Christian youth identity they would also display more attempts to uncover the hegemonic agenda in mainstream media coverage. Because Christian religious

identity, although important to them, is not a contested identity to the extent that they collectively feel consistently denigrated like their fellow Muslims their experiences qualitatively differ. Whereas Muslims meet in the mosque and may find solace in describing the common hardships of life as a Muslim in Canada, Eastern Orthodox Christian meetings in the Church revolve mainly around socializing children and youth into the culture and religion. While individuals might discuss personal hardships with close friends, the systemic denigration of Arabs in the media, societal and educational institutions does not seem to affect the collective Eastern Orthodox Christian experience in that not all of the members in this community relate to a shared feeling of disrespect.

Although there is no shared feeling of disrespect or perceived denigration of one's culture or religion in Canada, Eastern Orthodox Christian participants did share their grievances regarding the lack of basic societal knowledge on Christianity in the Middle East. Parents, youth, community, and religious leaders all shared their frustration in being members of what is considered one of the ancient Christian communities in the world and encountering the systematic disbelief of other non-Arab Canadians at this understanding. Similarly, when interacting with individuals of Canadian-Arab Islamic religious affiliation, Canadian-Arab Christians females *reveal a shared feeling of frustration* at the fact that they are considered Western allies or more lax with their moral values, whereas Christian males report feeling discriminated against. Yet the lack of knowledge of Eastern Orthodox Christianity by Muslims or by non-Arab Canadians does not seem to provide a strong impetus for social movement. This difference seems to suggest that there is something in the process of cognitive reasoning of dissonance that Canadian-Arab Christian participants' engage in by which feeling misunderstood or misrepresented is accommodated because of larger concerns regarding survivability. Further research into these processes would be of interest but for the moment I will work within the findings of this study.

Because the majority of Christians in this research were of Eastern Orthodox Christian identity it is therefore important to examine some of the basic foundational beliefs inherent in this identity. A central aspect of Eastern Orthodox Christian identity (i.e. Christians of North Africa and West Asia) is the feeling of persecution. Eastern Orthodox Christians have learned through decades of their clashes with Muslims that they will never be afforded the same rights. Hence, the parents of these youth have experienced systemic denial of their rights and therefore, systemic disrespect. Some of the leading members of Al-Qaeda, the Islamic brotherhood, and the Gamiayyat il Islamiyya have been claimed responsibility for the massacre of thousands of Eastern Orthodox Christians over the decades. The members of these groups are placed in jail only to be released shortly after by the very same authorities. For this reason, Canadian-Arab Christians may perceive events such as September 11, 2001 through their parents' personal experiences as "persecuted minorities" rather than as "citizens" of these countries. Such experiences of disrespect within their countries of origin may in part explain why the majority of Christians were more likely to agree with the official US explanation of September 11, 2001 rather than with alternative theories. The findings also illustrate how generally speaking, Canadian-Eastern Orthodox Christian youths do not analyze mainstream media information for a hegemonic agenda unless they feel that the information they are exposed to personally denigrates them individually or their ethno-religious collective identity.

Eastern Orthodox children from countries like Egypt or Sudan are socialized into the normalization or acceptance of religious prejudice or the disrespect of their rights as an unfortunate but normal way of life. Parents who have emigrated from such social situations reproduce these notions of discrimination and prejudice amongst their children to describe the current living conditions among Eastern Orthodox Christians in the Middle East. The

way in which parents cognitively rationalize these experiences of disrespect necessitates a brief examination of their interpretation of religious identity. The majority of youth participants reiterated their parental beliefs regarding how they, as Christians, differed from their Muslim counterparts mainly because of the way in which Christianity is interpreted. According to youth responses in this study, Christians are taught to forgive others even when injustice is done to them this is unlike Muslims or Jews who are taught to believe in an eye for an eye. In fact, this Christian orientation is seen as part and parcel of one's mission in life and Eastern Orthodox Christians are reminded on Sundays of the many saints of the church who submitted to God's will only to endure further persecution up until their ultimate death. It is such Christian Arab cognitive reasoning in dissonance and disrespect which does not seem to lead to engagement in a struggle for recognition and seems to explain the relatively apolitical tendencies of Orthodox Christian youths.

Honneth, Globalization and the Changing Nature of Honour

Honneth's (1995) work on the changing nature of honour as a result of modernization is important in analyzing the currently shifting nature of honour and shame among Arab Canadian communities in the age of globalization. For Honneth, honour is defined as the linkage between "...ways of leading one's life specific to a status group or estate" (p. 126). To Honneth, the gradual devaluation of traditional ethical life in Europe began during the modernization process when post-conventional ideas of philosophy and political life gained so much cultural influence that they could not leave the value convictions such as honour untouched (p. 124). During this time, cultural innovations led to structural transformations by which society's ethical goals underwent significant change and honour began to wane in light of modernization's focus on the individual. Loyalty and honour to one's group became replaced by the notion of individual prestige or social standing and traditional honour became relegated to the private sphere. Similarly, the gender concept of honour and shame, while still present, took on a much differentiated form due to the rise of globalization and its concurrent socio-cultural changes. These distinctions will be described using a neo-Gramscian Gender Based Analysis or GBA. GBA, in conjunction with select arguments from feminist, womanist and masculinity theories will be used to contextualize gender based values in the age of globalization. These combined understandings will then be used to describe the variation in gender values among the three groups religious, less religious and Christian participant youths and will be linked to the contemporary ongoing events that have shaped and are shaping youths' hybrid identities namely, mainstream media reports regarding the War on Terror in 2003, ongoing crises between the Palestinians and Israelis and Gulf War III.

A Neo-Gramscian Gender Based Analysis on Honour, Shame and Globalization

In a GBA conducted by Moglen (1992) on gender constructions in literary works, she argues that families socialize their male youths into the world of culture whereas females are socialized into the natural world. This manifests itself in the behaviours and values males and females are taught to embrace. As such, boys are encouraged by parents to "control and exploit," whereas women are taught to "nurture and love." According to Moglen, the impact of these socialization processes have led many feminists to "...construct difference in realistic, romantic, melodramatic and sentimental modes," which create "simple and oppositional relations" leading to the categorization of women as "others," (p. 160). This

appropriation of hegemonic social and psychological difference as a universal difference has kept feminists from entering into the discursive spaces necessary for personal and social change. Hence Moglen argues, while there are no epistemological positions outside the intersection of history with gender, race, sexuality, and class, there are many changing and contradictory positions within them. Consequently, it becomes necessary to examine the "masculine world of public value" in order to understand the values within the "feminized private sphere" (p.90). Moglen's work emphasizes the importance of the contemporary culture and social conditions which influence the socialization of males and females in societies. Moglen's work is in agreement with Pease (2002) who argues how the interests and threats *individual* men encounter are essential to understanding the status of women in society at a give historical time frame.

The fluid nature of gender values across historical time frames has also been analyzed by May (1994). According to May's GBA of US foreign policy, conceptions on gender and sexuality are deeply embedded in the ideological construction of government policy. As such, May traces the changing nature of gender values in light of the changing global conditions both of which impact upon each other in a dialectical relationship.

May (1994) maintains that the ideological foundations of the Cold War era illustrated the central role of the "American way" which itself arose from the tensions between social pluralism and national unity. Moreover, the family which was identified as "conjugal, nuclear, suburban, and child-centered," provided the location of this ideological consensus during this period (p. 72). During the 1960s the births of the civil rights and women's movements this national identity construction began to slowly crumble. Because of the fierce competition between the US and the Soviet Union over political influence in the developing world the US sought to win this by being perceived as the "beacon of racial tolerance" (p. 72). Hence the civil rights and feminist claims were co-opted in this new hegemonic ideology. Despite this image of tolerance, the US administration concerned with corruption and disorder at home, began to implement domestic political campaigns aimed at stifling dissent. As such, individuals considered security risks were those who did not conform to gender and sexual codes.

May analyzes the concurrent gender roles involved in the global threats and concerns of the Cold War era and illustrates how media images of women as sexual symbols served to reflect the conflict on the international level. She illustrates the role of media representations of American and Soviet women during the tensions of the Cold War. While American women were perceived as domesticated, Soviet women were considered hard working contributors to industrial production. The media's spin on these gender roles is interesting to note. May argues that American journalists often portrayed American women as feminine, and sexy, dressed in high heels and makeup while Soviet women were portrayed as un-lady-like looks of Soviet women who were portrayed as unattractive and presumably asexual. While American women would be seen strolling in the park with their men, Soviet women were portrayed as marching off to a Communist party meeting. May's GBA work is considered instrumental in analyzing the hegemonic agenda in mainstream media representations of Arab and Muslim women during times of war and conflict involving the Middle East.

May further contends that the images of female softness had their counterparts in male toughness. She points to the works of Emily Rosenberg (as cited in May, 1997), who illustrated the rhetoric of toughness in foreign policy as a masculine mode of discourse. This rhetorical style was also manifest in several Cold War struggles such as the Cuban missile crisis. According to May however, "masculinity as an element of foreign policy goes beyond

mere rhetoric," (p. 75). She argues how the crisis in manhood as evidenced by increasing empowerment of women, declining opportunities for men in the workplace, and the notion that urban men were becoming "soft" contributed to the rhetoric of toughness during war. Consequently, war time discourse seemingly reflects the hierarchical relationship between men and women. Male dominance seemingly symbolized American dominance in the world which manifested in the notion of war ravaged countries needing the support of the US. Similar to the women who were freed of their previous gender constraints and who joined military efforts, devastated countries also had to be tamed and put in their place. The enemy, like women, once subdued could be supported. The combined understandings of Honneth, Moglen, and May will be used to analyze the study's findings with respect to the changing nature of honour and shame gender values.

Honour and Shame among Religious Muslim Youth Participants

Throughout this study religious Muslim youths perceive religion to be a central and primary force in their identities. This contributed to the type of social friends and ethno-religious community gatherings these youths engage in. Religious Muslim youth perceptions regarding the role of honour and shame reflect these ethno-religious and cultural understandings and demonstrate the perspectives of these youths which differed between males and females. The commonality between religious Muslim male and females, rest in their perception that Islam as a religion serves to make such concepts irrelevant to their daily lived experiences. Both religious Muslim males and females perceived the necessity of remaining chaste as essential for both genders but the interpretation of this differed slightly between them.

Religious Muslim males perceived the role of honour and shame as primarily cultural but as one which has influenced religious interpretation. All religious Muslim youths, including males, condemned honour killings. However, males tended to perceive infarctions of the honour and shame dynamic by females as much more detrimental than those of males. As such, the sexual activities of females are perceived as a threat to the entire ethno-religious community whereas those of males are not as detrimental. Religious Muslim males and females also contextualized the honour and shame dynamic as one responsible for the protection of the female and not one necessarily connected to familial reputation. Responses regarding the treatment of women in Afghanistan were seen as questionable since most of the information these youths had, came from mainstream media reports and as such could not be trusted. In contrast to other youths, these youths reserved their right not to judge the Taliban and the situation of Muslim women as they considered their knowledge base founded on mainstream media reports, and therefore, unreliable.

The responses of religious Muslim females indicate that because of their relatively higher degree of religiosity, the concepts of honour and shame are deemed irrelevant to them personally as their virtuous way of life negates the importance for such a dynamic. Their responses do indicate that for those females of lesser degree of religiosity the concepts may be useful. Generally speaking, these more religious females also contextualized the honour and shame gender values as protection of male siblings over their sisters and not necessarily related to the family's reputation. Similar to their male counterparts, these females did not believe the information they had received regarding the treatment of women under the Taliban.

The responses of religious Muslim youths indicate the influence of the global environment and mainstream media reports on their gender identity and values. These youths' perceptions on gender values seem related to the notion that increasingly many Muslims believe the Islamic Umma is being treated as a global enemy. As such, the social desirability factor seemed to play a role when discussing these issues. These gender values are rationalized as protective mechanisms by these youths and illustrate the defensive nature of their responses in this regard and as influenced by mainstream media demonization. Because religious Muslims feel that Islam is already receiving much negative coverage in mainstream media, such questions were carefully answered in a manner in consonance with their identities so as not to be seen as contributing to further disinformation.

The responses of the male youths illustrate that indeed honour and shame is still an important factor for females. The threat to the entire community by female sexuality is seen as much greater and potentially dangerous. This notion may also be understood from the global threats which Muslims see Islam as encountering. As such Islamic countries and discourses illustrate how much of the efforts to democratize Muslim countries and women are seen as neo-colonial intrusion which men strongly resist. This resistance was also common among less religious Muslim males described below.

Honour and Shame among Less Religious Muslim Youths

Similar to their more religious Muslim youth counterparts, less religious youths socialize and interact with others in consonance with their religious *and* cultural values. These youths tend not to interact with the Islamic community and hence the discourse used regarding the presence and meaning of honour and shame values qualitatively differ than those of more religious Muslim youths. For these less religious Muslim males, the concept of honour and shame was perceived as natural but acknowledged as a double standard whereas less religious Muslim female perceive such concepts as in opposition to Islamic teachings.

The responses of less religious Muslim males regarding the existence of honour and shame illustrate how they perceive the values as double standards but as a reflection of the societal reality in which men dominate. These males also argued that honour and shame are seemingly related to the basic tenets of Islam as they see them. As such, for girls to go to clubs to dance would mean that she is in the presence of sex, drugs, and alcohol and this in itself, is a sin. These youths pointed out that they too, when doing such things are sinning however for females to do the same thing would indeed bring shame upon the entire family. With regards to the Taliban's treatment of women responses were varied. Whereas some males perceived it as a cultural interpretation of religion in Afghanistan, others saw it as an extremist based interpretation of Islam.

Less religious females perceived the concepts of honour and shame as complicating their lives as women and as contradictory to the basic tenets of Islam. This Islamic feminist argument is in partial agreement with more religious Muslim youth interpretations. Where this response diverges is when less religious Muslim females attribute honour and shame to human's political and social agendas. The intervention of human goals in religious practice is not commented on by religious Muslim youths who seem to be reacting in a defensive manner to the demonization and denigration of Islam in mainstream society and media. In contrast, less religious Muslim females do feel the need to defend their religion but also tend to abhor extremist interpretations of Islam.

The responses of less religious youths illustrate how these males and females perceive that the practice of honour and shame is a double standard but that this is due to human interpretation of Islam. As such, these youths were more vocal in their criticisms of such interpretations. But males tended to rationalize and explain the usefulness of honour and shame dynamics whereas females tended to explain such dynamics as antithetical to Islamic interpretations. While both male and female less religious Muslim youths were defensive regarding the way in which Islam is interpreted they also were quite critical of mainstream media interpretations. The demonization and denigration of Islam and its regular association to all Arabs affects the way in which Christian youths interpret these values. The interpretations of Christian youths on honour and shame will be described next.

Honour and Shame Among Christian Youths

Christian youth responses did identify the existence of honour and shame dynamics within their ethno-religious community. They tended to interpret the existence of such dynamics differently according to gender. While females tended to interpret the honour and shame dynamic as oppressive to them as women, males tended to explain the dynamic in comparison to the patriarchy in Canadian society as well as inter-generational differences. A few males stated that they believed honour and shame to be influenced by Islamic religious interpretation a response distinguishing them from their female counterparts.

Christian females tended to describe the honour and shame dynamic as personally affecting their socialization in Canada. A few females compared their lived experiences with that of their brothers and argued how they had more restrictions placed on them. These females also compared the situation of feminist positions articulated in the West and deemed the position of women in the West as more favourable than in Middle Eastern Arab countries. With respect to the position of women in Afghanistan, Christians, like their Muslim counterparts, tended to explain such phenomenon as an extremist interpretation of Islam.

Christian males described honour and shame as influenced by Islamic religious interpretations but also practiced by Arabs generally. The association of Islam with Arabs seemingly influences these males to respond in a manner in consonance with their identities and hence they tend to distance themselves from the Arab category. Consequently, Christian male interpretations of honour and shame reflected the dissonance they experience in Muslim male, secular, and Western Christian social circles.

Summary

The responses of religious and less religious Muslim males regarding their interpretation of honour and shame reflect the dissonance they experience in Canadian society as a result primarily of mainstream media interpretations. Because Muslim males have traditionally felt threatened by the colonial intrusions of Western societies during the colonial era in the Middle East, globalization and its Americanizing influence on female behaviour in the Middle East and Canada, is perceived as equally serious and an extension of colonialism. The influence of globalized common sense regarding the new War on Terror has created a new *societal* type of honour and shame dynamic leading young Arab males to alter their behaviours and speech in certain social situations for fears of being labelled terrorists. This seems to contribute to the tendency of less religious and more religious Muslim males to defend the honour and shame dynamic in accordance with cultural and religious interpretations and in opposition to consistent mainstream media denigration. Because Christian males experience dissonance in secular society, Western Christian institutions and among Muslim males, they tend to perceive the honour and shame dynamic as cultural but as complicated by religious interpretations of Islam.

Religious Muslim females perceive honour and shame as protection of females within their families. However, because of the self-perceived and practiced degree of religiosity among these females the significance of honour and shame seem nullified. These females see themselves as practicing Islam and therefore honour and shame as a gender dynamic does not apply to their lived experiences. By contrast, less religious Muslim females see honour and shame as complicating their lives in Canada but in opposition to the real interpretation of Islam as they see it. Likewise Christian females perceive honour and shame as a double standard which allowed their brothers and Christian male friends more freedom than them. Less religious Muslim and Christian female participant responses regarding honour and shame seems to be related to the way in which they interpret their religious and cultural values within the Canadian context illustrating the importance of understanding hybrid cultural values.

The responses of the youths with respect to the gender dynamic of honour and shame reflect the politicization of these hybrid identities. Amongst Muslim males the threat encountered in mainstream media and society with regards to Islam and Arab culture provide an impetus to protect and/or rationalize honour and shame. Similarly, Christian males' interpretation of the dynamic in terms of the threat encountered in mainstream society and media, as well as in Arab circles in which Muslim males tend to reject them. Christian males like their Muslim male counterparts are also increasingly under the gaze of mainstream society and its institutions because of the new War on Terror. Because Christian females encounter the effect of honour and shame directly they rationalize it in relation to the perceived importance of the dynamic in Canada and its threat to their freedoms or its importance to their daily lived experiences.

The individual and social analysis of the study's findings reveal how Canadian-Arab youth identity formation depends to a large extent on the acquisition of knowledge from familial, educational, social, and ethno-religious spheres in assessing the relevance of youths' ethno-religious as well as traditional gender values in relation to the larger secular, multicultural society. The individual level of analysis reveals how during adolescence and early adulthood, youths seek to be with others who share similar beliefs, values, and lifestyles. For Canadian-Arab youth this usually means socializing with others of Arab origin

or similar ethnicity in the case of less religious and Eastern Orthodox Christian youths. Conversely, for more religious Muslim youths this means surrounding oneself with others of the Islamic faith. As a result, experiences of cognitive dissonance vary among the youths. Religious Muslim youths socialize with and among other like-minded Muslim youths regardless of their ethnicity and experience dissonance among non-Muslims. In contrast, less religious Muslim youth and Eastern Orthodox Christian youth have friends from a variety of ethnic groups and religions. Christians experience dissonance in Arab-Islamic and North American even Western Christian-based circles, while less religious Muslims experience dissonance because of the adverse impact of the media in North American circles as well as dissonance produced by interacting with the local Islamic community. While youths' experiences with dissonance vary across the groups they generally increase on interacting with others' misassumptions and/or stereotypes regarding their ethnicity or culture.

The important influence of denigrating images and media disinformation regarding the Arab culture, Islam, and the religious diversity in the Middle East, in shaping the discourse and relationships among Canadian-Arab youths is apparent throughout this study. Media disinformation regarding Islam and Arab culture during the New War on Terror in 2003 manifests itself in youths' worldviews, values and relationships in their educational and social experiences. Hence youths actively contest information or misassumptions regarding their culture and religion but the nature of this struggle qualitatively differ for Muslims than Christians. Because Muslim youths, their families, and communities feel consistently denigrated in the media and have suffered from state intimidation tactics such as surveillance and interrogation, (especially during times of war), they tend to experience a shared feeling of disrespect. This leads many Muslims to examine the hidden agenda behind mainstream media reports on the Middle East. Hence Muslim youths' lived experiences render them more vulnerable than their Christian counterparts as their specific ethno-religious values are considered legitimate grounds for suspicion and/or exclusion. Instead Christians tend to use their religious values and beliefs to shield them from the stereotypes associated with their Arab ethnicity. The social structural impact of global mainstream media on youths' perceptions of national multicultural policies and global conflict articulates with this social psychology and moral struggle and will be described in the following chapter in greater depth.

Chapter Ten

The Social Structural and Global Levels of Identity Formation

The previous chapter analyzed Canadian-Arab identity on the micro-level through Canadian-Arab youth's individual experiences with family, friends and societal and educational experiences. The findings illustrate differential experiences with regards to sources of and experiences with cognitive dissonance and disrespect among Christian, less religious and more religious Muslim youths. More religious Muslim youths therefore tended to respond to gender value questions in a defensive manner. Less religious Muslim youths tended to use cultural and some religious interpretation of Islam. This led females to oppose the values based on Islamic feminist arguments while leading males to defend it. Similarly, Christian male responses reflect their interpretation to be based on the threat encountered within the Canadian context as well as within Arab-Islamic contexts. Christian female responses however revealed the role of feminist arguments in critiquing honour and shame in the Canadian context. The micro-level of analysis revealed how since religion is considered of primary importance in Canadian-Arab youth identity development media disinformation on Islam led to feelings of disrespect. For religious Muslim youths this feeling is shared among members of the local Islamic community and youth's interactions with the community therefore serves as an impetus to raise awareness on Islam. Conversely, while less religious Muslim youths may attempt to raise awareness among friends and acquaintances they do not organize large events such as protests but may actively participate in them. Christian Arab youths may agree with the misrepresentation of the region, its religions, and politics by mainstream media but by and large, do not seem actively engaged in a struggle against global mainstream media but rather against misrepresentations of their identity on Canadian and Arab Islamic sides. Instead, Christian youths seem more interested in balancing and maintaining their ethno-religious values in harmony with their Canadian ones.

The goal of this chapter will be to tie the micro-level of analysis (youths' experiences in familial, educational, societal spheres) discussed in the previous chapter to the macro-national level of Canadian policy-making and global events and their influence on identity. The national analysis of identity described in this chapter includes an examination of the influence of multicultural policy on identity. This level examines the ways in which Canadian-Arab youth identity is influenced by nationalist ideologies and/or policies. Brown's (2000) analysis of nationalisms in ethnically diverse countries illustrates how Canadian-Arab youths' understanding of ethnicity and their position in society as minorities influences the way in which they relate to the majority culture, their ethno-religious and/or ethno-cultural group and therefore influences their identity development. Hence Brown's arguments on the primordial, situationalist, and constructivist nationalisms embraced by individuals in ethnically diverse countries refer to the different narratives used by Canadian-Arab youths in the appropriation of multicultural policy for identity development.

Brown's work will be supplemented with a re-examination of Hall (1997) and Giroux's (1991, 2000) neo-Gramscian theories, which will be used to explain the role of

ethnic minorities in reproducing the social hierarchy or the status quo. This discussion is important since it illustrates the nature of state struggle in mediating the demands of the dominant and minority ethnic groups and how such resolution of opposing values becomes hegemonic because it must necessarily be accepted first by ethnic and religious minorities. The role of the media in reproducing common sense, hegemony, and categories of exclusion will be examined through Fairclough's (1995) work on mediatized discourse and Kashmeri's (1991) work on how such media common sense was instrumental in state intimidation tactics targeting Canadian-Arabs during the 1991 Gulf War I.

The global level of identity analysis will use Giddens' (2000) globalization theory which allows for an analysis of Canadian-Arab identity as influenced by globalization as it provides a critical overview of the changing nature of conflicts. Unlike Christian youths in this study Muslim youths generally feel engaged in the same global struggle targeting Muslims, and Islamic countries globally as articulated by the US administration, media, and international agencies. For Giddens, this is a natural and central element since during the age of globalization, contemporary identity struggles occur between groups *within* countries as opposed to the pre-globalization phase in which the majority of conflicts occurred *between* countries. This has already manifested itself within Canada as tensions between Arab and Jewish groups over the Middle East conflict have spawned across North American educational and societal institutions. Giddens' discussion, therefore, provides a background which explains the way in which globalization has impacted Arab cultures in the Middle East *and* Canadian-Arab community values. His work demonstrates how globalization has influenced the nature of conflicts and has given rise to neo-Islamicist movements, which employ methods of terror to achieve political gains. His work also sheds light on the problems traditional conservative and liberal approaches run into in resolving new and emerging conflicts, and their impact of global affairs on Canadian-Arab youth identity.

Contemporary Nationalisms in Multicultural Nations and Canadian-Arab Identity

The infrastructure available for the Canadian-Arab community is dependent upon the promises of multiculturalism in allowing ethnic minority communities to use the resources they deem necessary for the survival of their religions and cultural values. Thus an understanding of Canadian-Arab identity development necessitates an analysis of the national policies which influence ethnic minorities in Canada. The nature of "hegemonic common sense" inherent in multicultural policy, is more easily understood when analyzing the nature of competing nationalist identities in multicultural countries. According to David Brown's (2000) research there are three types of nationalist identities which arise in multicultural countries: primordialist, situationalist, and constructivist. Brown describes how these three types of nationalisms are in fact conceptual languages which "...generate different stories as to the relationship between ethnicity and nationalism, the rise of national states, and the problematic character of contemporary national politics" (p. 5). The following sections will describe these three types of nationalism in greater detail and describe the nationalisms embraced by the youths in this study.

Primordial Nationalist Identity

Primordial nationalism is based on a natural, organic community that defines the identity of its members based on distinctive characteristics which tie them to each other and which form a central component of individual identity. Examples of such characteristics include language, religion, and homeland origin. These kinship ideologies become "myths of common ancestry" which are accepted by the collective populace as truth. Thus the individual born in a country which is based on primordial nationalism develops an identity which contains elements of this primordialism at its core. Although primordialism is originally thought to be based on genetic characteristics which tie individuals together in a form of kinship, scholars such as Pierre Van den Berghe (as cited in Brown, 2000) has suggested that individuals may be programmed to prefer others who appear to be genetically related. Others explain primordialism by the notion of "group memories" primarily transmitted through the process of socialization from parents to children. According to this view, there is little difference between the concepts of ethnicity and nationality which are considered to be identical.

The development in primordial societies of the ethnic bond into the nationalist claim, to Brown, is not inevitable. Instead, nationalist claims in this context arise from the perception that the autonomy of the primordialist community is under threat. A current example of such a claim can be illustrated by the rise of right-wing nationalists in European nations between 2000-2001 in countries such as France, Germany, the UK, and Austria. Indeed because of increasing primordial nationalist sentiment various right-wing leaders who vocalized much concern over immigrants and immigration policies in their nations received much support from members of the majority group within their respective nations. But this does not mean that the primordialist conception assumes homogeneity. Instead, primordialist explanations of contemporary politics assume that the history of state-formation has primarily been one of conquest and migration and therefore necessarily means that ethnic and religious minorities exist.

Situationalist Nationalist Identity

Situationalist nationalism refers to individuals or groups striving for common interests. Threats to individuals and groups may change over time and hence it is believed that their common interests are also subject to change. The situationalist argument begins with the liberal assumption that individuals wish to promote their freedom, self-realization and ally with others in interest groups which become central to one's identity. The more central the interests are to the pursuit of self-realization and the more intense the threats to this pursuit, according to Brown, the greater intensity with which one identifies with the interest group. When under threat individuals may fight, exit, align with the enemy, appeal to religion or turn to alcohol. Such behaviours may be predictable based on a shared culture. In situations where, for example, the majority culture has more strength in threatening those of minority cultures, individuals of each group enter in a dialectical "us" and "them" relationship.

As its name suggests, the situationalist perspective assumes that each individual has a variety of potential groupings based on affiliations in ideology, occupation, class, gender, or locality. Yet, with regards to affiliations based on ethnic or nationalist ideologies, the situationalist perspective holds that there is no innate priority for an identity which can

distinguish them. Rather both ethnic and nationalist ideologies refer to "rational attachments" to interactive communities.

Constructivist Nationalist Identity

For the constructivist approach, national identity is not determined by such primary attributes as one's place or location of birth, one's religion, language or some other biological attributes. Instead, new institutional arrangements which an individual inhabits may become the defining categories of political understanding regarding identity, interests, and goals. Thus the state organizes regional structures of interest associations or identity documents on a racial, ethnic or nationality basis it becomes the ideological definitions used by members in that society. Brown is careful to note however, how notions of the nationalist identity are often brought by state suppression rather than implementation of national identities. A central constructivist assumption is the notion that identity labels may be modified according to the social situation one is in. This is important for understanding Canadian-Arab identity formation since youths in this study demonstrated that the categories they choose to define themselves within are not necessarily stable nor are they prescribed.

As described earlier in the individual analysis of identity, individuals feel solace and the need to describe their identity in relation to a demarcated community which shares the same religious or cultural beliefs. The ethnic or religious community one identifies with provides individuals with a sense of "moral legitimation." Nationalism provides individuals with a sense of security that categories like gender or ethnicity, fail to do and may also provide individuals with a "...diagnosis of contemporary ills, a prescription for their remedy, and a vision of the world in which everyone will live happily ever after" (Kedouri, as cited in Brown, 2000). The reason why constructivist nationalism is so successful in many contemporary societies, is according to Brown, for two main reasons. First, it provides individuals the myth of ancestry, moral authority to individuals faced with the rapid changes and instability of modernization. Second, individuals are more likely to need this support if the authority structures of the family or locality are being disrupted due to the process of modernization.

Nationalisms and Canadian-Arab Identity

The nature of Canadian-Arab youth identity and the nationalism they embrace must necessarily take into consideration the loyalty youths may choose to demonstrate to the cultural and religious background of their parents which they are socialized into. But the fact that one's parents speak Arabic or have a certain religious affiliation does not necessarily lead Canadian-Arab youths to identify with their parents' culture or religion. Instead, the fact that Canadian-Arab youths are visibly different and are questioned by teachers, friends, and acquaintances as to their origins, demonstrates the role of the state in the construction of identity. The fact that individuals are aware of their minority status and encounter issues specific to it, therefore, better demonstrates how the constructivist nationalist argument explains the identity issues encountered by Canadian-Arab youths. This seems applicable since many youths also choose to change the way in which they represent their identities according to the social situation and social actors involved in their social activities. Moreover, because Canadian-Arab Christians are a minority in both their parents' country of origin and Canada the nature of their identities qualitatively differs. Eastern Orthodox Christians hold a

primordial attachment to the indigenous ethnic aspect of their identities in which they prefer to distinguish themselves as non-Arab. These issues will be described in greater depth below.

Constructivist Nationalism and the Contextualization of Canadian-Arab Youth Identity

The findings of this study suggest that Canadian-Arabs recognize the visible minority status ascribed to them and have a superficial understanding of it in relation to Canadian multiculturalism. In other words, they are of the realization that in theory multicultural policy affords them equal rights as Canadian citizens and they understand that they may use these rights to maintain their ethno-cultural and religious values. But according to the study's findings, multiculturalism in practice seems limited to the rhetoric of guaranteeing Canadians of ethnic minority groups institutions, schools, and places of worship. Youth participant responses indicate that regardless of multiculturalism's promises, Canadian-Arab youths are still questioned about their ancestry, a fact which seems to make them feel excluded as "true" Canadians. This is furthermore complemented by an educational system which according to the youths in this study does not contain an in-depth history of ethnic minority contributions to Canada. The lack of any significant historical documentation of non-Western European ethnicities in Canada (for example, Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Italian, Ukrainian) and Arab ethnic groups leaves members of these ethnic communities to feel excluded from Canadian historical narratives.

Mainstream media disinformation regarding Middle East politics, religion, and culture leads to the demonization of Canadian-Arab Muslim youths especially during times of conflict associated with the region. The findings of this study reveal that during such times, multiculturalism and all its promises and guarantees become annihilated. Thus far the identity groupings of religious Muslims, less religious Muslims, and Christians in this study demonstrate the different ways in which each group defines themselves in relation to Canadian multiculturalism without losing essential elements of their ethno-cultural and religious value systems central to their hybrid identities.

Constructivist Nationalist Identity and Religious Muslim Youths

This section will examine Brown's nationalisms in multiculturalism by describing a) the partial fusion in identity experiences with regards to Canadian-Arab Muslim religious and less religious Muslim youth and b) the identity influences on Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youths. The Arab-Islamic community in The City has taken advantage of the government protected rights to ensure the maintenance of their religion by establishing Islamic schools, in addition to a host of educational and societal programs. Indeed, one of the first Mosques established in Canada, near the City making the Province host to one of the oldest Islamic communities in Canada. Yet the nature of Islamic practice for this group has been itself transformed for life in Canada. According to the study's findings, Muslims in the Arab world arriving in Canada may find themselves adapting not only to Canadian culture but to the Islamic way of life according to The City's local Islamic community.

The local Islamic community, from which half of the Muslim participants came, is very conservative and traditional and mimics cultural nuances similar to extremely conservative countries such as Saudi Arabia. The mode of behaviour for members of this community seem constructed to resisting much of the values inherent in the new societal

context. Moreover, many of these new Canadians come from war torn regions in the Middle East such as Lebanon or Palestine, and are therefore much more politicized than previous generations of Canadian-Arabs. For Canadian-Arab Muslim youths who are of a strong religious affiliation the relationship of the religious community to identity is of primary importance as it provides them with a form of shelter from the outside threat of secularism. Regular Muslim members are able to describe their fears of being attacked during sensitive political periods, and their experiences of prejudice while receiving positive reinforcement from other individuals from their community with similar experiences and beliefs. Multiculturalism for this group of Canadian-Arabs means embracing constructivist nationalism that allows for the ability to avoid integration into secular society.

Shortly after the events of September 11, 2001, religious youth in this study described how they felt shielded from the rest of mainstream society's prejudices on return to their neighbourhoods from school and/or work. As mentioned these neighbourhoods are dominated by Canadian-Arab Muslims which allow these youths to feel a sense of security residing in a geographical location where they are understood and surrounded by others who share similar values. These experiences reveal how the societal enclave of Canadian-Arab Muslims and their concurrent interaction with other like-minded Muslim neighbours and friends provides them with a sense of moral legitimation. By associating with other religious individuals and groups, religious Muslim youths' value systems are justified and reinforced. Isolation from the mainstream secular society is beneficial because secular values are in opposition to Islamic ones. A second potential benefit is that religious Muslims do not have to feel constantly scrutinized by a society in which many seem to blindly accept the mainstream media driven notion which equates Islam with terrorism.

Religious youths choose to construct their identity in accordance with the Islamic values system and as practiced and interpreted by the local Islamic community. The local Islamic community has also established institutions, programs, and an educational system under the guarantees of multiculturalism. The dominant culture's multicultural commonsense has thus been incorporated by the Islamic community and is an important aspect in religious Muslim youth's constructivist nationalist identity as it allows them to maintain a seemingly necessary isolationism from mainstream society. Despite such apparent isolationism these youths are often well articulated activists who use their activism to dispel the denigrating effects of the myths regarding the Islamic religion perpetuated by mainstream media and reinforced in their schools and universities. For religious Muslim youths, this constructivist nationalist identity based on a high level of interaction and involvement with the Islamic community, allows for socializing with others of similar religious persuasion and worldviews which then allows them to actively resist and contest the media disrespect and denigration of Islam and Muslims.

Constructivist National Identity among Less Religious Muslims

Less religious Muslims, unlike their more religious counterparts, find solace with the ethno-cultural community (i.e. other Arabs of similar faith or culture) although they may not live in social enclaves or regularly attend religious community meetings. As mentioned previously, the Mosque or the Islamic ethno-religious community is considered too ultra-conservative for the personal identity or religious beliefs of these less religious Muslim youths.

For less religious Muslim youths, the way Islam is interpreted and practiced within the local ethno-religious community is seen as more of a reaction to the West and the Americanizing forces of globalization than a true understanding of the tenets of Islam as they see them. Interactions with the local ethno-religious community may therefore increase youth experiences with dissonance as the values of the Islamic community are considered far removed from their interpretation of Islam and/or from the way their parents prefer to practice it. These youth participants did not necessarily feel that one's degree of religious attendance would necessarily lead one to be more religious. Instead youths attempted to gain their information regarding Islam from a variety of sources such as family, friends, Islamic bookstores, and the Internet. For some, avoiding the Mosque and community events even allows them to reduce dissonance. Less religious Muslims encounter dissonance due to the expectations and demands of the community due to their beliefs being in clash with those of the community. On the societal side, Muslims who are less religious tend to experience dissonance in education and society for misrepresentations of their culture and religion.

Less religious Muslim youths in this study choose to maintain their religious beliefs on a personal level (i.e. prayers at home, or prayers at the mosque) but engage in very few is any, other social activities with the community. They find it easier to accept having social group relationships with others vs. feeling imposed upon by members of the religious community to act in a certain way. Multicultural commonsense has been incorporated by these youths in the way they choose to integrate aspects of each culture as they see fit and to resist aspects of the Islamic community not in consonance with their identity. A negative aspect of multiculturalism was that it did not afford protection to Canadian citizens who were Muslim. Instead during times of war, Canadian-Arab Muslim youth reported how multiculturalism did not protect them from discrimination. This sentiment was also shared by religious youths and demonstrates that how on the national level, religious and less religious youth responses begin to merge with regards to national policies such as multiculturalism.

For less religious Muslim youths, multiculturalism may have a negative impact in that it allows mainstream society to perceive all Muslims as sharing the same religion and behaving in similar ways even when these youths may be engaged in actively resisting community values. This study reveals that for at least half of the Muslim participants in this study the local Islamic community was not central to their identity nor was dissonance reduced by interacting with the community. These youths preferred not to mention their religious affiliation on introductions to non-Arabs unlike their religious Muslim counterparts while mentioning their religious affiliation to people of Arab ethnicity. These youths have accommodated aspects of Canadian culture whereby identification with religious affiliation in social introductions may be perceived as inappropriate or potentially intimidating. This demonstrates the way in which identity is accommodated and modified, reinforcing Brown's constructivist nationalist identity. These differences between less religious and religious Muslim youths are important for policy makers to consider when devising or reformulating new policies targeting minority ethno-religious communities as some policies run the risk of alienating and creating resentment.

Primordial/Constructivist Nationalist Identity and Canadian-Arab Christian Youth

Canadian-Arab Christian parents consider the Church of primary importance for inculcating youths with knowledge regarding their Eastern Christian roots. For many Eastern Orthodox youths, Canadian cultural values run contrary to their religious and cultural values and the Church is an important place for parents to demonstrate to their children these differences. For Eastern Orthodox adolescents and young adults, the Church provides a frame of reference on who they are as an "ethnic" and a validation that their beliefs are justified.

Eastern Orthodox Christians refer to themselves as sharing a "pure" ancestral linkage, which separates them from "Arabs" and/or "Muslims" and which distinguishes them as Christians from one of the oldest Churches in the world. This constructed primordialist identity serves to differentiate the Eastern Orthodox youths from Muslims on the one hand, while demonstrating their distinct Christian identity on the other. The primordial side of Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youth identity seems to be shaped by parents' lived experiences in the country of origin. Eastern Orthodox youths are usually socialized into the knowledge that their Eastern Orthodox identities are under threat from the Muslim majority. This fear of threat to one's identity demonstrates how primordial nationalist discourse represents *identity* among Canadian-Eastern Orthodox families.

Throughout the interviews, Eastern Orthodox youths placed emphasis on their non-Arab identity. They preferred to refer to themselves as Eastern Orthodox Christians. Eastern Orthodox youths felt their Eastern Orthodox identity was "ethnically" distinct from others of Islamic religious affiliation. The fact that Eastern Orthodox Christians historically had their own Eastern Orthodox language now used solely in liturgies in Church services is a point cited by them as evidence of their distinct ethnic identity. For Eastern Orthodox youths the ability to freely practice their religion without feeling discriminated against for it, seems to be an extremely valuable aspect of multiculturalism as such freedom was not consistently afforded to their parents in their country of origin.

Multiculturalism for Eastern Orthodox Christians, as a situationalist discourse, was seen as positive in relation to the few guarantees provided to minorities in the Islamic nations from which they originate. The primordial/constructivist nationalist identity embraced by Eastern Orthodox youths helps unravel the challenges involved with the double minority status they experience. By distancing themselves from Muslims and identifying themselves as Eastern Orthodox as opposed to Arabs, these youths seem to reduce cognitively dissonant experiences associated with the "Arab" category in North American circles. Similarly, by distinguishing themselves as part of an ancient Church, Orthodox Christian youths distinguish themselves from Western forms of Christianity, which also cause them dissonance in Arab-Islamic circles.

Unlike their Muslim counterparts, Eastern Orthodox Christians in The City have not organized an educational system for themselves. Instead, the majority of youths in the study resided in ethnically diverse locations in The City and attended ethnically diverse schools. Hence the only place which Eastern Orthodox youths can learn about their culture and religion is from the Church. This higher level of interaction with ethnic diversity may also serve to explain their perspective on multicultural policy. In other words, youths learn to identify with their Eastern Orthodox side through the attendance of church community

activities. These "institutional arrangements" made available to the Canadian-Eastern Orthodox community under multicultural policy allow youths to explore their ethno-religious identities.

Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youths responses seem to indicate that the primordial aspect of their identities impact to a large extent influences the way in which they perceive national multicultural policies and also international events involving the Middle East. Generally speaking, the findings with respect to Canadian Eastern Orthodox youth, illustrate a "Canadian-ized" discourse on multiculturalism in the sense that while they perceive it as allowing for the preservation of cultural and religious values they argue how it does not facilitate any understanding of the diverse cultures nor does it lead to a strong national identity.

Multiculturalism and Brown's Nationalist Identities

Brown's categories illustrate that youths may "accommodate" aspects of multicultural policy as they see fit or in consonance with their lifestyles and value systems. Canadian-Arab Christians and Muslims integrate aspects of multiculturalism necessary for the maintenance of their ethno-cultural and religious value systems. While Muslims (less religious and religious) perceive multiculturalism as irrelevant during times of war, Eastern Orthodox youths question its effectiveness in promoting inter-ethnic and inter-religious understanding. In order to further clarify these nationalist identity distinctions neo-Gramscian research and theory will be used to explain the multicultural politics of Canadian-Arab Muslim and Christian youths.

Neo-Gramscian Theories and New World Hegemony

Thus far, I have described how Canadian-Arab Muslim youths perceive multiculturalism as increasingly irrelevant to their lives especially during times of Middle East conflict. This was contrasted to the relatively positive opinion of multiculturalism by Eastern Orthodox youths. The following sections will describe how Canadian-Arab youth understandings regarding the influence of the media on society corresponds to their notions on power hierarchies in Canadian society. It will be argued that whereas Muslim youths (regardless of degree of religious affiliation) find themselves engaged in a struggle against mainstream media representations of their religion and identities on national and global levels, Eastern Orthodox youths are not engaged in such struggle. These understandings differentially impact upon Canadian-Arab youth identity and will be examined through the theories of neo-Gramscian theories of Hall (1997) and Giroux (2000) and their work in analyzing the relationship of ideology, culture, and power in addition to Fairclough's (1995) work on mediatized discourse.

Gramsci's work analyzes the nature of the state, and its corresponding politics and ideology, and the critical role of culture and national-popular questions in mediating between these societal forces. Unlike traditional Marxist approaches which reduced conflicts in society as due to imbalances in material wealth, neo-Gramscian theories suggest that many conflicts arise from political and ideological developments which are far more complex. According to Gramsci, the notion of "class struggle" and its corresponding belief of objective laws regarding economy, parallels the belief in religion in which no alternative explanation of a collapse can be accommodated. Gramsci's analysis of the role of hegemony

provides an important framework in which Canadian multiculturalism can be critiqued. Gramscian influence on critical cultural theorists such as Hall and Giroux will also be discussed.

In Gramsci's view there are three central characteristics of hegemony. First, hegemony is never a stable characteristic in societies since the unity in the "ideological common sense" it necessitates between the various segments of society, is rarely constant. Second, hegemony is never imposed but instead necessarily requires popular consent and the winning over of subaltern and dominated classes. Finally, which segment of a society leads in a specific historical time frame is not just a simplified notion of the ruling class but a segment of it, along with members of subaltern groups who have been given concessions and who form the subordinate subgroup within the dominant group (Hall, 1996).

Hall (1996), drawing on Gramsci's notion of culture as an educating force, explains the nature of ethnic tensions or struggle in society. Hall argues that cultural pedagogy is the outcome of political struggles over representations, identifications, and forms of agency. Such struggles become clearer once the notion of identities and identification are defined through the resources of history, culture, and language (Giroux, 2000). The regulation of culture is considered central to the notion of cultural politics as our political activity is itself defined by the culture in which we are socialized into. Hence an individual's interaction within educational, societal, and ethno-cultural institutions is inevitably influenced by the dominant culture which provides the necessary knowledge regulating how individuals relate to themselves and others. According to Hall, culture also presents representations of other ethnicities and sub-cultural groups and their positive or negative attributes.

Canadian multicultural policy maps out the role and responsibilities of the diverse cultural groups in Canada. This, in turn, influences the fluid identities of members of those groups such as Canadian-Arab youth and the ways in which they interact between Canadian and Arab cultural spheres. Thus, according to Hall (1996), culture's educational role "...redefines the politics of power and the political nature of representation" and "...expands across multiple sites and spheres" (p. 168). Hall's work politicizes the cultural while uncovering the educational aspects of politics. This is important since political projects are thought to emerge out of contexts which are themselves fluid hence any understanding of political policies must take into consideration the cultural context from which they were shaped. Also, if political projects are to remain effective, they must "...remain open, partial, and incomplete" (Giroux, 2000, p. 169). This is especially noteworthy for political projects or policies aimed at maintaining ethnic harmony amongst diversity especially during times of national or international conflict

The neo-Gramscian theories of Giroux (2000) and Hall (1996) illustrate how the manipulation of ideology by power and state elites occurs implicitly. Giroux argues how by controlling venues such as media technology, particular power groups such as the current "New Right" in American society influence mainstream media and popular culture. Hence ideology at any given historical period can be understood by analyzing how media representations such as the demonization of certain ethnic groups such as Arabs and Muslims may reflect the goals of the state elite at a given time period. Giroux states that the New Right in the US, has through its massive financial power, taken control of media and electronic technologies, thereby influencing news coverage and national entertainment. Giroux writes how this influence in effect, is the "New Right's" appropriation of Gramsci's insight that "every relationship of hegemony is necessarily an educational relationship." According to him, such an appropriation has constituted an attack on democracy adversely affecting immigrants, people of color, working class, the elderly, and gays and lesbians.

Giroux (2000) and Hall's (1996) work demonstrate the importance of examining how mainstream media is increasingly becoming an invaluable instrument used by state and international elites especially during times of war. Their arguments illustrate how an in-depth examination of identities in society at a given time leads to a better understanding of the power struggles in that society. Once Canadian-Arab youth identity was clarified on the individual and social level of analyses, the national level of analysis illustrated how Muslims more so than Christians view multiculturalism as inefficient because it offers them no protection during times of war and conflict. This contested nature of Muslim youth identity reveals the power struggle they are involved with because of their Islamic identities.

The role of the mainstream media in these power struggles will be examined through Norman Fairclough's (1995) influential work on the hegemonic role of the media and is critical in illustrating the impact this has on youth identity. Fairclough argues how the media is a reflection of the power struggles in society. His arguments are relevant to a deeper understanding of why Muslim youth identity (as seen from this study) is more contested than Eastern Orthodox youth identity. His work also reveals how these politicized Islamic identities themselves are a manifestation of the way in which Islam has been increasingly perceived as a global threat in mainstream media commonsense.

Media Discourse: Re-Examining Fairclough

Fairclough's (1995) work is helpful in examining the influence of media on Canadian-Arab youth identity especially considering the advent of satellite communication which broadcasts Arab satellite news and television programming from the Middle East. Almost all the Canadian-Arab youth in this study reported some level of exposure to satellite television programming. However, Canadian-Arab Muslim youths demonstrated more familiarity with Arab nationalist and Islamicist discourses than Christian youths and are therefore better able to access notions of commonsense and ideologies in opposition to those expressed in mainstream North American media sources.

According to Fairclough (1995), media discourse provides insights onto the specific ideological functioning of the media and its contribution to "...reproducing social relations of domination and exploitation" (p. 45). Media discourse analyzes the ideological representations in the media which are said to work implicitly by being embedded in the ways of using language which are "naturalized and commonsensical" for reporters and audiences. Thus while a documentary may posit a certain perspective on a social issue using rhetorical language to persuade the audience, ideologies are taken for granted as a common understanding between the reporter and the audience without the recourse to rhetoric. Yet Fairclough cautions that ideological analysis of media may fall into the trap of being reductionist in the sense that its approach to examining media texts solely on the basis of determining an ideology, may be fruitless if it does not take into consideration the effect of the media discourse on the audience. Instead, Fairclough espouses an approach where media texts are regarded as functioning "...ideologically in social control and social reproduction," but also as "cultural commodities in a competitive market...reflecting and contributing to shifting cultural values and identities" (p. 48).

Much of the contemporary cultural changes in media are identified by Fairclough as "detraditionalization" or "informalization" which to him are part of the globalization process and are responsible for complicating traditional authority relations while changing traditional

constructions and conceptions of self-identity. By using CDA to analyze media discourse the way in which audiences have become transformed from citizens to consumers who buy into ideas and ways of thinking becomes clear. Fairclough uses the Vietnam War example to illustrate how American media coverage of the war led to strong public sentiment against it in effect forcing the US withdrawal. Fairclough notes this in sharp contrast to the tight control the American military exercised over the media in order to "sell" the Gulf War to the public while averting a repeat of the popular resistance manifested during the Vietnam War.

Previous research conducted by Kashmeri (1991) within Canada concurs with Fairclough's (1995) theorizing and reveals the role of the media in influencing public policy while demonstrating its overriding effect on multicultural policy during times of war. Kashmeri's research provides a "lived experience example" to the notion of power, ideology, and common sense and shows how the media's role is instrumental in this regard. He notes how the demonization of Arabs and Muslims during the Gulf War could not have happened without "...a cooperative media, political backing, and unsophisticated targets" (Kashmeri, 2000, p. 256). Kashmeri's work demonstrates the "educating role of culture" in demonstrating how the media began educating the Canadian public on terrorism, and the "political role of education" in demonstrating how the media's education manifested itself by the "political" silence of the public on the treatment of Arabs and Muslim Canadians in their midst.

According to Kashmeri, (2000) although the public front of security operations was to gather information regarding the "risks" posed to the Canadian government by Arab or Muslim terrorists in Canada, the operations constituted officially sanctioned intimidation of these groups. The media associated Saddam Hussein and terrorism and terrorism to Arabs and Muslims in Canada, and allowed for the victimization of these groups with little to no public outcry. While acting in the name of national security Kashmeri writes, RCMP officers and CSIS agents began questioning the loyalties of Arab and Muslim Canadians in order to determine whether their political or religious beliefs posed a threat to Canada.

Kashmeri's findings are extremely important as they illustrate that the media was instrumental in rallying public support for legitimizing the unfair interrogation and surveillance of Arabs and Muslim RCMP officers during the 1991 Gulf War. But such trends also seem to beg the question: is Canadian multicultural policy only applicable during times of international and national peace and stability?

Kashmeri's research shows how multicultural policy seemed to take a back seat during the Gulf War as hundreds of Arab and Muslim-Canadians became treated as the country's enemies, a move surprisingly reminiscent of the Japanese-Canadian experience during World War II. Such actions seemed indicative of a horrifying tendency in that at any given time any group can be defined as an enemy of the state. This enemy is articulated by the mainstream media and is condemned. The result is that the enemy of the state is then subject to unforeseen policies or exceptions to the law. The study's findings illustrate how Muslim youths are aware of the influence of mainstream media in the denigration of Islam and their exclusion from society.

The impact of mainstream media and satellite news coverage from the Middle East leads Muslim youths to a different analysis of world events than their Christian counterparts, which will be described later. Suffice it to say here, however, that Eastern Orthodox youths do not feel personally threatened by mainstream media interpretations of Middle East conflict or coverage of the Gulf Wars and this seems to be partially related to the television new sources they view. Throughout the interviews, Muslim responses more so than

Christian, indicate that Canadian society and its institutions (such as the mainstream media and education), were perceived as assimilationist. In other words, mainstream media reinforced dominant majority cultural values and minority Islamic religious values were mocked and ridiculed. Muslim youths irrespective of religion see much of the contemporary news coverage on channels such as CNN as furthering US-Israeli commonsense necessary for their political objectives in the Middle East. This is held in contrast to satellite programming in which Arab nationalist and Islamicist commonsense perceptions of world events are promoted. This struggle over representations of Islam by mainstream media on the one hand and the Islamic community/Arab satellite media on the other, lead both religious and less religious Muslims to critically analyze the role of hegemony in Canadian multiculturalism and the mediating of Islamic ethno-religious identity.

The findings of the study indicate that negative mainstream media coverage coincides with Canadian-Arab Muslim youths' lived experiences with racism in education and society, the utterance of racist stereotype by students and teachers, and state intimidation tactics. Negative mainstream media coverage during times of war has therefore adversely impacted upon Muslim youths' daily experiences forcing them to question such denigrating representations in light of current foreign policy objectives. Giroux, Fairclough and Kashmeri's work thus demonstrates how the demonization of Islam and Muslims by mainstream media should be perceived as part of the political hegemonic agenda of state elites. Such media representations allow for the fulfillment of certain foreign policy objectives not immediately apparent to the masses within countries such as the US or Canada but increasingly apparent to Canadian-Arab Muslims who resist, contest and challenge such disinformation. Hence, because Muslims are excluded on a regular basis by Canadian society and education, they are more critical towards the role of mainstream media in mediating popular commonsense notions.

While Eastern Orthodox youths do not experience as much prejudice associated with their religious identities as their Muslim counterparts, they still seem to question the objectives of mainstream media coverage during times of war. This response was manifest in the youths' comments of media coverage immediately following the September 11, 2001 attacks in America. Thus, when media representations were perceived as threatening to their Christian identities and values, Christian youths will also question the hegemonic agenda behind these representations. Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youths also discussed the negative impact mainstream media has on the Arab image and noted how this seems to especially affect Muslim youths in education and society. Many Orthodox Christian youths cited the need for more multicultural education on the ethnic diversity in the Arab world and the diverse ethnicities and cultures in Canadian society.

Canadian-Arab Youth Identity, Media Influences and Worldviews

Throughout the individual psychological level of analysis using Erikson (1968) and Festinger's (1954) theories, and the social level of analysis using Honneth's (1995) theory, identity experiences were categorized according to religious, less religious, Muslim and Eastern Orthodox Canadian-Arab youth. The findings at the national level of identity analysis indicated that while religious and less religious Muslims use multiculturalism promises for different reasons their responses seem to unite in their experiences of the exclusionary effects of mainstream media and multiculturalism. The national level of analysis illustrates how the adverse effects of mainstream media seem to render multiculturalism's

guarantees as irrelevant to Muslim youths. The following section examines the global level of identity analysis and will demonstrate why the findings with regards to Muslim youths are in complete unison with regards to the influences of global media coverage of conflicts and events involving the Middle East and Islamic nations. Hence as Muslim youth responses indicate, Islam is increasingly being treated as a global enemy or threat, in a parallel manner to how former Communist nations were described during the Cold War era for the fulfillment of specific foreign policies in the Middle East.

Anthony Giddens on Globalization

Anthony Giddens (2000) describes the rapidly changing forces of globalization and its effects on countries and individual identities. According to him, the influence of globalization has been such that an analysis of its effects on the nation state level no longer suffices because national claims to sovereignty have radically changed. Instead, Giddens espouses an approach which includes a global analysis examining "...the powerful forces of the marketplace and new communications technology" as this would help describe the "globalization from below" involving millions of individuals and growing numbers of organized groups (p. 123).

According to Giddens' (2000), globalization has altered the nature of conflict. Whereas previous conflicts occurred between countries, today most conflict such as religious fundamentalist movements occur within nations. An example of this manifested itself in 1997 when out of twenty five armed struggles only one was between the countries of India and Pakistan. Giddens contends that the reason for the shift towards internal national conflicts is due to the fact that contemporary conflicts are seen as a response to the crumbling of state legitimacy in which criminality, corruption, and a breakdown of civil society has occurred. Hence the Kosovo conflict in Yugoslavia was not so much based in the history of the Balkans but rather emerged as a response to contemporary identity conflicts. As Giddens notes, "the beliefs, anxieties, and hatreds that fuel identity struggles look back to ancient traditions but do not directly derive from them." He continues by stating that such traditional divisions are resurrected "...as a means of focusing present-day discontents" (p. 155).

Giddens' analysis is important for the Canadian and US multicultural contexts especially in light of the research findings of this study which illustrate how Canadian-Arab Muslim youths feel that their religion or way of life is consistently demonized and denigrated. The fact that state laws have responded to the September 11, 2001 attacks with the implementation of laws which further target and demonize these groups makes life for them even more difficult.

Giddens' (2000) work demonstrates how globalization has impacted upon the nature of contemporary conflict therefore illustrating the importance in finding a new third way approach in response to such rapidly changing dynamics. The nature of contemporary internal state war economies are characterized as "decentralized and anarchic" with support coming in the form of "illegal arms, drugs, and plunder" being supplied from outside governments. Thus Giddens' highlights the importance of prevention rather than post-facto constructed solutions to conflicts. Giddens contends that the nature of contemporary struggles involve a conflict between warring parties each of which attempts to gain "political control" over the population through the tactics of intimidation and terror. As described earlier, this has already occurred in Canadian-Arab communities in Canada who have been

excluded during times of war only to be subjected to intimidation tactics by state agencies. Similarly, the notion that Al-Qaeda's network of hidden terror cells in nations worldwide are waiting for the go-ahead signal to commit terrorist attacks to terrorize entire nations is a tactic used in this new era.

Because "globalization has redefined the sovereignty of states, while individual rights have become the subject of an expanding body of international law," a wholly new means of addressing such conflicts is necessary. For Giddens both conservative and liberal approaches do not address the changes as a result of globalization. Traditional right wing conservative approaches stress that states should resolve their conflicts themselves, while traditional left wing approaches view interventionism as a manifestation of power politics. Giddens argues that internal ethnic conflicts can be successfully defused or can explode into full-blown wars depending on the way in which the state and other parties attempt to negotiate the contentions. Giddens holds how there are many more examples of conflicts being defused than escalating through such mediation. His approach emphasizes that institution building be incorporated into negotiations between warring factions along internationally recognized laws, and that "spaces" for the reconstruction of civil society need to be kept open. Effective peacekeeping in the age of globalization according to Giddens must involve impartiality as opposed to neutrality. Impartiality means the implementation of international law on both sides of the conflict whereas neutrality means taking no stand regardless of the international laws violated. Neutrality is the current method use by international agencies such as the Red Cross and which needs to be replaced by impartiality. While the world is still far away from applying the rule of international law across the board internationally, Giddens is of the view that such thinking is not utopian.

For Giddens (2000), the role of the state has changed not only due to the forces of globalization but also due to the state's "endogenous crisis." In response to these challenges the state must not take control over the free market or civil society but rather intervene in each of these domains. Giddens' advises that the state should try to create macro-economic stability, invest in public education and its infrastructure, contain inequality, guarantee opportunities for self-realization, and establish a strong welfare system" (p. 164). In this envisioned state, the citizen is differentiated from the consumer and freedom is not equated with the ability to buy and sell. Echoing the work of Honneth (1995) described earlier, for Giddens, the "good society" is defined as one which strikes a balance between "...governments, markets, and the civil order" and in which individuals not only feel that they are given rights but also that they share responsibilities in that they give back to society. His recommendations also attempt to address issues of public concern such as crime and the decay of family life. State capacity together with international regulation is a concern for developed and developing nations. This has already been manifested in the discourse of the modernizing left which ties the healthy development of the developing nations to ongoing prosperity in the developed world and calls for an elimination of Third World debt.

The Implications of Giddens' Approach: Globalization, Arab Diaspora, and Ethno-religious Identity

Giddens' (2000) work is valuable especially in light of the US' War on Terrorism. As previously mentioned youths in the study made parallels between the new War on Terror and the Cold War. Both religious and less religious Muslim youth responses contextualized the new global enemy as Islam. Their exposure to mainstream media disinformation on Islam and satellite news programming from the Arab world, reinforced this notion. Canadian-Arab Christians also reinforced this view, making observations that generally Canadian society and specifically Canadian teachers had very little objective information regarding Islam and general facts on the region. For the most part, however, the findings regarding Canadian-Arab Christians illustrate that because they do not seem to feel personally attacked by mainstream media their views on global conflicts are pacifistic. These issues will be described using Giddens insights and will be analyzed in relation to the study's findings.

Giddens (2000) work demonstrates how increasingly, international conflicts are occurring nationally. The US' new War on Terror for example, targets various so-called "rogue" countries but also targets many individuals who are new American citizens or who have arrived in America from war-torn regions to work or study. This demonstrates how the "enemies from within," Canada or the US, are often citizens of these nations.

The growing North American mainstream media attention being given to Islamicist terrorist groups and the denigration of Islam as a religion seems to provide the impetus for Canadian Arab Muslims (more so than Eastern Orthodox youths) to analyze the hegemonic agenda behind mainstream media news on issues in the Middle East such as Palestine or Iraq. Both religious and less religious Muslim youths felt that their Islamic identity was an increasingly contested matter in this new global era. The notion of a hidden agenda driving mainstream media disinformation seemed more manifest in Muslim youth responses irrespective of degree of religiosity than Christian responses. However several Eastern Orthodox youths did note their suspicions with mainstream media reporting in the hours following the events of September 11, 2001. These findings indicate that when there is a feeling of personal threat against Canadian-Arab Christian identity, youths will attempt to analyze the reasons behind such media representations. The following sections describe the contested nature of Muslim youth identity and this will be contrasted to the relatively apolitical tendencies of Eastern Orthodox youths in this study.

Canadian-Arab Muslim Youth Identity and the Perceived Global Siege of Islam

Muslims worldwide constitute the Islamic Umma or global Islamic community and observant Muslims pray five times daily for Muslims worldwide. Thus Islam's universal global consciousness of the conditions of Muslims worldwide is an important aspect of the religion. Islamic mosques worldwide are increasingly raising awareness on the conditions of Muslims suffering or engaged in recent armed conflicts in Chechnya, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Serbia, Palestine, and Iraq. For many Muslims, America's "War on Terrorism" is in fact a war against Islam and this may not simply be perceived as adding to the suffering of Muslims

worldwide but also may be interpreted for more religious Muslims, (similar to much right-wing Christian interpretations) as signs of the last days. Moreover many youths are able to access commonsense notions on conflicts via satellite media and community interaction. These factors contribute to the strong sense among Canadian-Arab Muslims that Islam is under attack.

Many of the Muslim youths in this study had parents who came from war-torn regions of the Arab world still enduring the effects of war and conflict. These youths may still have relatives in the country of origin and hence are ultimately affected by ongoing news from the region. In addition to these concerns, Muslims youths felt that while they were Canadian citizens they were not treated as such by members of mainstream society and educational institutions especially during times of war.

Muslim youth, perceived mainstream media as furthering Zionist-Right Wing Christian crusade agenda against Islam. Indeed scores of mainstream media reports have demonstrated how much latent prejudice against Islam by Christian-Zionist leaders became manifest during the post-September 11th era. Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, are among a host of Christian leaders in the US who have publicly denigrated the Prophet's image and Islam since the events of September 11, 2001 thus contributing to the exacerbation of the already damaging effects of mainstream media commonsense on Islam and Muslim Canadians and Americans. The fact that these religious leaders are perceived as sharing similar Christian values as President George W. Bush and even encouraging the US leader has served to increase the tensions between Christian and Muslim Arabs in the US, Canada, and the Middle East. Such factors have also further contributed to the Islamicist commonsense (but also reiterated in various /alternative media) which holds that US foreign policies are influenced by an extremist Christian-Zionist agenda that actively perceives and regards Islam as the enemy. These Christian-Zionist goals are then fulfilled by mainstream media disinformation which obtains the consent of the public - in a) carrying out wars in the Middle East and b) intimidating Arabs or Muslims in Canada - since these groups are thought to own many mainstream media outlets. Such factors have increasingly led to the manifestation of inter-religious conflict between Muslim and Jewish groups across North American university campuses illustrating how international conflicts have increasingly manifested themselves within nations.

The Global Level and Eastern Orthodox Christian Identity

While Eastern Orthodox Christian youths may agree with their Muslim counterparts on the bias in mainstream media sources and the need to verify media information, they were less likely to perceive such disinformation as part of an agenda unless such coverage seemed to attack their identity on a personal level. Similarly, while Eastern Orthodox youths may agree that extremist Christian-Zionist leaders have an influence on US foreign policy they are also more likely to criticize Arab governments and to comment on the negative effects of extremist interpretations of Islam. As mentioned previously, when describing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the war with Iraq, Eastern Orthodox Christians express much humanitarian concern but do not consider the conflict as personal as do their Muslim counterparts.

Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youths perceive much of the current global problems a result of Islamic extremist interpretations clashing with Zionist extremism and a lack of understanding in North American society on Islam. As mentioned previously, their discourse

seems to be a result of the primordial aspect of their nationalist identities. Christian youths do not seem to be interested so much with international events as they are with their own lives and success at school and/or work. Therefore, while they might attempt to correct media stereotypes regarding the region and the religious diversity, they are much less likely to engage in political debates on recent or ongoing events with their friends and family members.

Throughout the above global level of analysis I have argued how mainstream media commonsense is a reflection of global conflict and national state policies. As a result Muslim youth identity is contested on national and global levels whereas Eastern Orthodox youth identity is not. As Gramsci, Hall, Giroux, Fairclough, and Giddens' theories illustrate, youth identity is a fluid process which must be understood in light of the contemporary global conflicts, and events, and national state policies all of which impact upon youths' individual and social group lived experiences. The new War on Terrorism on national state and global levels, the Third Gulf War in 2003 and potential occupation of Iraq, and the continuing and worsening of hostilities between the Israelis and Palestinians, are all reasons for Muslims to feel they are being actively oppressed and differentiates them from Eastern Orthodox youth. The identity experiences of Canadian-Arab youth at the individual, social, national, and global levels are extremely relevant for educators and policy makers to grasp so as to promote ethnic tolerance and understanding, ingredients, which are increasingly critical during the age of globalization.

Identity: Individual, Social, National, and Global

The individual level of identity illustrated how religious Muslim youths reside in social enclaves and how experiences with dissonance are minimized as they attend the Islamic school until grade nine. At the senior level of high school and/or University level religious youths seem to enjoy social interactions with others of the same religion irrespective of their ethnicity. Youths encounter much more dissonance at these educational levels because of the lack of understanding of their religion and because they are exposed to racism driven by mainstream media commonsense during times of conflict. Religious Muslim youths also seemed to engage in a struggle for recognition because Islam is denigrated by members of mainstream society within education and places of employment. By contrast less religious Muslim youths experience dissonance in the younger years when they first realize they are ethnically and religiously different from the majority culture in the school. Less religious Muslim youths do not interact with the Islamic community and therefore do not engage in the same struggle for recognition as their religious counterparts. The likelihood of these youths engaging in social struggle is dependent upon the members of their social group which vary from individual to individual.

Whereas the constructivist nationalism of religious Muslim youth embraces aspects of multiculturalism that allow them to reside in ethnically and religiously homogenous regions, less religious youths' constructivist nationalism embraces aspects of multiculturalism which allows them to maintain their religion on a personal level rather than adhere to local community practices. As such, less religious Muslim youths may reside in ethnically diverse regions and attend ethnically diverse schools. Less religious youths reduce dissonance by interacting with others of similar ethnic background within ethnically diverse schools.

Both religious and less religious Muslim youths experience exclusion from Canadian society and educational institutions especially due to North American mainstream media disinformation during times of war. The exclusion and denigration effects of mainstream media lead youths to question the agenda of mainstream media in relation to foreign policy objectives. This analysis is enhanced by their exposure to satellite television. The discourse among the local Islamic community and Muslim youths generally differs from North American common sense on the Middle East, Islam, and the conflicts of the region and is important for teachers to acknowledge.

Canadian-Eastern Orthodox youth share similarities with less religious Muslim youths in that they reside in ethnically diverse regions and Eastern Orthodox youth attend schools within these regions. The educational experiences of Eastern Orthodox youths also revealed how having other friends of similar ethnic and/or religious origin greatly eases experiences with dissonance. But unlike Muslim youths, Eastern Orthodox Christians encounter dissonance in Arab and North American social circles. Within Arab social circles, Eastern Orthodox experiences of dissonance differ according to gender. Females encounter dissonance because of stereotypes held by Muslims that they as morally loose as Westerners. Males encounter dissonance because of stereotype that they are allies of the West and Israel. Christian females who maintain social group friends in which several Muslims are present will attempt to reduce this dissonance by emphasizing the strictness of Orthodox Christianity. Christian males will have a few personal friends with whom they agree with rather than attempt to raise awareness on their religion and political beliefs. Within North American social circles youths encounter dissonance because they are mistaken as Muslims. Eastern Orthodox Christian youths reduce this by clarifying the religious diversity in the Arab world. Eastern Orthodox youths also do not experience personal disrespect as religious Muslim youths do and hence do not engage in a struggle for recognition.

Eastern Orthodox youths do not seem to be influenced by national state policies such as anti-terror bills to the same extent as Muslims. Orthodox youths may still suffer exclusionary treatment by their educators or friends during times of conflict but on clarifying their religious orientation this practice is halted. As a result, Eastern Orthodox youths focused most of their discourse on the dangers of religious extremism in general, and the traumatic consequences of war. For Orthodox youths their priorities seemed to be focused on being successful and balancing between their ethno-religious values and their Canadian ones.

Conclusion

The micro-level of analysis in the study examined the diversity in Canadian-Arab youth identity through the theoretical lenses of Erikson (1968), Festinger (1954) and Honneth (1995), as well as select arguments from Pease's (2002) masculinity theory, GBA, and feminist theories. The analysis revealed how youth identity is initially heavily influenced by parents' lived experiences within the country of origin and the ideologies they continue to maintain in Canadian society. These parental influences then translate into the educational institutions that parents' choose to enrol their children in and the degree of interaction with the ethno-religious community. Therefore the micro-level of analysis generated three identity categories: Eastern Orthodox Christian Arabs, less religious and more religious Muslim youths. These categories refer to level of interaction with the ethno-religious community values, influences of parents' lived experiences on youth identity, and discourse differences in analyzing media hegemony and gender values.

The macro-level of analysis of the study's findings described in Chapter Ten with regards to Canadian-Arab youth identity formation illustrated the influence of globalization's mainstream media on youth identity. This chapter connected the micro–level to the macro by illustrating the way in which Arabs and Islam have been demonized by mainstream media and how this denigration manifests in Canadian education and societal spheres serving as an impetus for Muslim youths (regardless or degree of religiosity) to engage in a struggle for recognition. This struggle is more clearly defined for religious Muslim youths who have a high level of interaction with the ethno-religious community but also may manifest among less religious Muslims who are equally troubled with such disinformation. Because of the powerful influences of the mainstream media disinformation Muslim youths may be engaged in an Islamic struggle for recognition among Muslim youths, thereby illustrating the effects of global media on Muslim youth identity. This also influenced the responses of less religious and more religious Muslim youths regarding honour and shame gender values. As seen throughout the study, Eastern Christians are regularly excluded by Arab Muslims within the country of origin and in Canada. As such Christians tend to psychologically, socially, and physically distance themselves from Arab Muslims and discourses on the Middle East. This chapter will therefore briefly review the study and describe it in relation to previous research in the field. It will also provide some policy implications for educators, government policy makers, and the Canadian-Arab community.

This study has attempted to explore the methods, factors, and events which make the reconciliation of opposing cultural values easier. Previous sociological research regarding Canadian-Arabs conducted by Abu-Laban (1980), B. Abu-Laban, and S. Abu-Laban., (1999) attempted to examine similar identity questions by considering the effects of the state level of identity (i.e. the influence of changing immigration and multicultural policies on the nature of ethnic relations in society and education). These projects emphasized the diversity in the Canadian-Arab community by demonstrating how religious, immigration cohort, socio-economic status, differentially influence the nature of Canadian-Arab family adaptation to Canada. The implications of such research demonstrate that Canadian-Arabs vary in their level of successful adaptation to Canada depending on the methods they use to adapt to Canadian society and while retaining critical elements of their ethno-religious and/or ethno-cultural identities. Such studies have confirmed the assimilationist nature of Canadian

society, education, and multicultural laws and have provided important information on the feelings of Canadian-Arabs regarding discrimination, media disinformation, and stereotypes. However, such studies have not described the *process* by which Canadian-Arab youth identity is reconciled nor have they examined how globalized mainstream media influences Canadian-Arab youth identity and values.

Unlike previous studies, this study intended to use a bottom-up approach in which youth understanding of multiculturalism, Canadian-Arab parental Diaspora, and global media coverage of ongoing events in the Middle East, is considered central to the study's focus. This inductive mode of theory generation shares some affinities with Grounded Theory but also incorporates conceptual formation informed by grounded social theory. The study therefore aimed at examining the issues encountering Canadian-Arab youths in a time when their ethnic identities are becoming an issue of national and global concern. Although the study examined the various influences on identity at the individual, social, national, and global levels, the common thread throughout this study focused on the effects of global mainstream media representations on the process of identity reconciliation.

Review

In order to organize the various cultural values which youths inevitably encounter as Canadian-Arabs the study identified four themes in which to contextualize the clash between Arab and Canadian values. The themes identified were cognitive dissonance, Arab Diaspora, and honour and shame, and North American and Arab mainstream media interpretations, and Canadian-Arab educational experiences. These themes were used to develop interview questions and to ease the process of analysis. The theoretical analysis of the research involved tying the micro individual and social experiences shaping identity to the macro national and global events which also impact identity formation. Theoretical analysis of the data using the psychological theories of Erikson (1968), Festinger (1954), Barazangi (1991), and Honneth's (1995) critical sociological theory on the struggle for recognition examined the impact of the psychological and the social on identity. Gender based analysis as well as select theories from masculinity and feminism theory were used to describe the variation in youth perceptions on honour and shame.

Brown's (2000) theory examined the diverse nationalisms embraced by ethnic and religious minorities illustrates and illustrated the impact of national state laws on identity formation. The choice of nationalisms embraced and the influence of the media in affecting societal group relations was further analyzed Fairclough's mediatized discourse and neo-Gramscian notions of hegemony and common sense as articulated by the neo-Gramscian theories of Giroux and Hall. These theoretical understandings were used to illustrate the nature of common sense policies such as multiculturalism. Finally, Giddens' (2000) work was used to analyze the changing nature of global conflicts during the globalization era. His work is instrumental in analyzing the nature of contemporary conflicts and the differential influence of such conflicts on youth identities.

The difference between Christian and Muslim youths may be perceived as a function of past and ongoing struggles within the Middle East. Indeed many Islamicist groups may perceive the US led war on terrorism as an extension of the imperialism they endured during colonization. Groups like the Muslim Brotherhood which were founded under colonial rule and which opposed colonial plans for the establishment of Israel perceive the new US war as one serving the interests of Israel. This has led to increased anger and

frustration amongst many Islamicist groups in the Middle East and increasingly among Arab-Muslim Canadians. Conversely, many Eastern Orthodox Christians perceive conflict in the Middle East as a result of extremist religious interpretations both Zionist and Islamic, clashing. For Eastern Orthodox Christians who are minorities in their nations of origin, the rhetoric used by Islamicist groups has led to the murder of thousands of Eastern Orthodox Christians in revenge for government implemented policies which are driven by US and Western interests. Moreover because Eastern-Orthodox Christians distinguish themselves from Western forms of Christianity they perceive a right-wing Christian agenda in cooperation with Zionist values as influencing US foreign policies. As discussed previously in the analysis chapter, Eastern Orthodox Christians remain apolitical when it comes to issues of Middle East conflict. They prefer not to become involved because on the occasions that they do become involved in political activities involving the Middle East they feel rejected by their Muslim counterparts. Moreover, because much media disinformation has associated Arabs with Islam the politics of the region has led many Canadian-Arab Muslims to feel ownership over Middle East conflicts to the exclusion of non-Muslim Arabs and their concerns.

Similarly, while it may appear to non-Arabs that the Arabs and Muslims are united in their perceptions of Middle East conflict or events such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or September 11, 2001, the findings of this research demonstrate that Canadian-Arab youth perceptions of these events vary significantly based such factors as religious affiliation, degree of religiosity, and parental experiences within the homeland and as informed by such venues as mainstream or satellite media and internet websites.

The analysis of Canadian-Arab identity formation in this study has therefore demonstrated how identity does not develop as a result of solely immediate family socialization or socialization with peers. Rather, individual youths reject elements of their parents' lifestyles, religion, and socio-cultural values deemed irrelevant to the Canadian context and attempt to re-appropriate traditional religious and cultural values in ways suitable or even necessary for the Canadian context. Much of the rejection and selection of various Arab and Canadian values are influenced by degree of changes in national laws, ongoing international and Middle East developments, and mainstream media interpretations of these events and their developments. These factors in turn affect the way individuals of the majority culture relate to those of minority cultures and vice versa demonstrating how the social groupings in societies in many ways reflect global events.

During times of war as has been argued throughout this study, federal policies such as multiculturalism are placed on the back burner as scores of Canadian-Arabs become the target of unfair media representations and fall victims to state intimidation tactics. The ongoing US led war on terrorism, and the 2003 war with Iraq, are all recent developments which cause increased tension between majority cultural groups and Canadian-Arabs in educational and societal spheres. This is important since many laws implemented since September 11, 2001, already target Canadian-Arabs in their surveillance and security efforts.

Implications for Educators and Educational Policy Makers

The findings of this study suggest that the educational system unfortunately mimics the worst of mainstream media and society when it comes to understanding situations and events related to Canadian-Arabs and the Middle East conflict. For religious Muslim youths the media disinformation found in mainstream media sources was repeated in the educational setting by educators and fellow classmates at the school and at the University level. Although most of these youths were enrolled in Islamic based school settings during their elementary and junior high school years, their experiences at the University or senior high school level demonstrated the lack of tolerance and even denigration afforded to the Islamic religion. This knowledge is important for educators especially since the term "Arab" is rejected by these youths in favour of identifying themselves as "Muslims" which points to the importance attributed to religion in identity for these particular youths. The fact that these youths feel that mainstream media sources in North America provide an extremely negative view on Islam and Islamic teachings which goes not only uncorrected but reinforced within the educational system, is a noteworthy point of consideration for educators.

Eastern Orthodox Christians like their religious Muslim counterparts usually tended to reject the term Arab as it was indicative of Islamic affiliation. Many of the Eastern Orthodox youths felt that both mainstream society and Arab Muslims tended to negate their very existence not to mention their perspectives on issues in Middle East conflict. Since Islam has been associated with the Arab world to the exclusion of the region's other religions such as Christianity, Judaism, and Druze, Christians are many times perceived as outsiders in discourse regarding political events ongoing there. In Arab circles where there is a mixture of Muslims and Christians, Christian males often feel denigrated by their Muslim counterparts.

In light of the above discussion, there are three main recommendations which should be seriously considered by educators and educational policy makers. First, despite the fact that Canadian-Arab youths come from the same region, they are varied in their political, social, and religious values here in Canada. Therefore, even if teachers were to provide information on for example, the Islamic religion from an objective and informed perspective, they should still be aware of the fact that they are not representing all members of the entire Islamic community as many youths may not share the same beliefs because of their religious affiliation or others such as the less religious youths may feel misrepresented because of the way the choose to interpret Islam. This is important, since many educational programs may purport to uphold principles of tolerance by introducing one facet of the ethnic community while ignoring others thereby contributing to additional tensions between various ethnicities such as Arab and non-Arab and also between members within the same ethnic group. Instead educators and educational policy makers should make it a point to ask members of the Canadian-Arab Islamic, Eastern Orthodox communities to come into class and present a lesson on what a Muslim is or a Eastern Orthodox is. This would relieve students of feeling the burden of explaining their culture and religion which they themselves may not be fully aware of while alleviating the feelings of being demonized and misunderstood. Community leaders from each of the religions should also be actively engaged in making themselves available to schools for such presentations as well.

A second point of importance for educators and policy makers is the fact that much of the curriculum even when examining issues concerning the Arab or Islamic worlds, comes

from a Eurocentric perspective which may be resisted and/or even contested by Canadian-Arab youths. Educators should give recognition to the concerns of the different ethnic groups within their schools and should be aware of the diversity within ethnic groups. Thus when educators have the opportunity to, they should try and include the voices of others who may disagree with the representation of their culture or religion.

Finally, curriculum changes should be made which link the history of diversity in Canada to the lived experiences of all Canadian citizens. Youths in this study made reference to the nature of social studies and history as examining issues such as World War I and II and European history with some attention given to Japan and China but very little on ongoing conflicts such as the Middle East. When attention was given to the Middle East conflict, it was presented from a Eurocentric perspective which negated an Arab perspective on the events. This led to youths feeling demonized and misunderstood within the educational system. Such misrepresentation leads to social conflicts and tensions in society and bullying in the schools during periods of war with the Middle East or when the Middle East is highlighted such as during the events of September 11, 2001. While the implications for educators and educational policy makers described here are considered important in light of the study's findings they cannot be understood in isolation from implications for the Canadian-Arab community, and Canadian government policy makers which will be described in the following sections.

Implications for Canadian Government Policy Makers

As described in the theoretical in any given country with diverse ethnic or religious groups the state finds itself mediating between primordial, constructivist, and situationalist positions. Theoretical analysis on the state level demonstrated how Muslim Canadian-Arab youth identity fits into the constructivist nationalist identity since they may choose to select and reject elements of their Arab or Islamic identity transmitted by parents and the ethno-religious community and similarly they may select or reject elements of the Canadian state's notion of their minority identity. This is important in order to better inform policy makers on how to articulate a multicultural nationalist identity favourable to majority and minority groups. Conversely, Eastern Orthodox Christians in the study embrace a primordial/constructivist nationalism. Hence Christians feel they can use multiculturalism to practice and maintain their religion. The primordial identities heavily influences the way in which Christian youths relate to the politics of the Middle East. The primordial narrative carried by parents onto their children is one in which they endured disrespect and secondary class treatment within the country of origin. This manifested itself in the study by youths' critique of the Arab regimes and politics of the region. Christian youths unlike their Muslim peers are more likely to distance themselves as Arabs and this is exacerbated due to the negative effects of mainstream media disinformation.

Immigrants have traditionally arrived in Canada in hopes of gaining a better quality of life. Internationally, Canada has been known for its peace-keeping between nations but ironically Canada has not been able to secure the safety of its own citizens during times of war and international conflict. The regular exclusion and of Canadian-Arab Muslims from Canadian educational and societal institutions during times of war, demonstrate that a simple re-structuring of such institutions is unlikely to alleviate such tensions. The lack of protection afforded by the state to Canadian-Arab *Muslims* during periods of Middle East conflict is indicative of the need to transform Canadian multicultural policy which is currently ill-equipped to effectively encounter such tensions in the new globalized era.

Since the tragic events of September 11, 2001 there is an increasingly urgent need for educators and policy makers to promote an in-depth understanding in the diversity of Canadian-Arab identity. This understanding would include the histories of the different religions and peoples of the Middle East in addition to a documentation of the Middle East wars from various perspectives. This inclusion would be better linked to the contemporary conflicts of today rather than the cold war conflicts currently emphasized in today's curriculum. An examination of the various world religions which Canadians follow would also assist in providing youths with knowledge that they can hold against the prejudices in the media, family, and society. Teachers should refrain from commenting on issues or events concerning the Middle East or Islam unless they are well-informed and aware of their own biases. The educational system should be one which dispels with racist, sexist, and classist stereotypes not one which promotes it.

The seemingly never-ending conflict and suffering of Arabs in the Middle East especially in nations such as Palestine and Iraq are all easily accessible to scores of Canadian-Arab families and their youths through satellite media. Access to such ongoing suffering in the Middle East provides a daily reminder to Canadian-Arab parents of the reasons why many of them left to establish a life in Canada. Yet despite their history and contributions to Canadian society, many Canadian-Arabs are still treated as the "unwanted immigrant group." During times of conflict Arabs and Muslims are highlighted in mainstream media and become subjected to racism and intimidation by Canadian state officials with little outcry from mainstream Canadian society. This poses a serious threat to the future of democracy for all Canadians. Instead educators and policy makers prefer to sweep inter-ethnic tensions "under the rug" or favour temporary band-aid solutions or policies aimed at containing rather than eliminating racism.

The lack of a foreseeable future of peace and stability in the Middle East especially since 2003 Gulf War III and the ongoing War on Terrorism, demonstrate the nature of Diaspora for Canadian-Arabs who are constantly bracing for the next news event which will legitimize their demonization. This manifested itself on October 31, 2002 when Canadians from the nations of Syria, Sudan, Libya and Iran were forewarned by the Canadian government not to travel to the US as the American Immigration and Naturalization Services would fingerprint, photograph and interrogate them. Such institutionalized racism demonstrates that despite Canadian multicultural policies Canadian-Arabs find themselves treated as the enemies from within.

In a country such as Canada's in which the goals of a pre-determined fittest group survive to the exclusion of the rest, questions arise as to why Canadians-Arab youths should feel any loyalty to a country which consistently treats them as outsiders. This treatment, in addition to the fact that many Canadian-Arab *Muslim* students choose independent schools in order to learn their language, culture, and traditions, may ensure isolation within the mainstream and may signal the threat that societal cohesion is crumbling. Instead Canadian multiculturalism should attempt to understand rather than superficially celebrate diversity and tie this understanding to our common humanity. The history of exploitation and oppression of all groups within society has yet to be clearly documented.

True multiculturalism is one in which the history of diversity is clearly documented in educational and societal institutions and not deleted. To avoid such change is to continue to feed the types of inter-ethnic and religious tensions that led to the disintegration of entire multicultural nations such as Yugoslavia. Canadian policy makers should treasure the lessons of history and move towards transformation of Canadian education and society in light of

the current Canadian demographics and the new global era. On a positive note, Canadian government officials should be commended for resisting in engaging in unilateral actions against nations such as Iraq and should be encouraged to continue on a similar path on the national level as well. War should not be factor which determines whether or not racism and exclusionary policies will go unchecked. Canada must implement a coherent anti-racism policy in all levels and spheres of Canadian life that will guarantee the safety and protection of all Canadians. Implementation of anti-terror legislation should furthermore be informed with the consultation of reputed community and religious leaders so as to avoid an irreversible turn in inter-ethnic tensions.

The findings of this study have three main implications for government policy makers if governments are truly committed to multiculturalism. First, the Canadian government at all levels must be consciously and critically aware of distinctions within communities to avoid the demise of nations as see in the breakdown of national stability and ensuing war in Yugoslavia. This would require a transformation of multicultural policy such that immigrants and new Canadian citizens are offered more programming which would help them integrate the necessary knowledge and skills for successful life in Canada. Educational programs for newcomer adults to successfully communicate their needs and grievances within the work place and educational spheres seem necessary. By doing so, Canada may be able to ease some of the tensions already present between the majority and minority cultures thereby eliminating the threats felt by each of these groups towards each other. Such programs may also save much government money in the future as a result of a decrease in conflict in various societal institutions.

A second and interrelated policy implication concerns the role of international conflict and an understanding on the federal level of how conflicts affect ethnic groups and members within these ethnic groups differently. This is important since any policy implemented must not be seen as favouring one segment of the ethnic group in question as this may increase and not reduce tensions.

Finally, the Canadian government must resist following American national and foreign policies since such policies have placed the US in a precarious situation as manifested on September 11, 2001. Indeed, since the implementation of new anti-terror laws aimed at Arab and Islamic groups in Canada and also given Canada's role on the war on terrorism Canada has been placed on the hit list of terror groups most notably Al-Qaeda. While Canada must not submit to terrorist intimidation tactics, it can instead pioneer policies aimed at promoting peace rather than disunity on both national and global levels. This would protect Canada from becoming a victim of terrorism in the future while helping Canada maintain its role as international peacekeeper. Canada can do so, by working with non-governmental, non-sectarian groups such as the Canadian Arab Federation which represents all Arab Canadians and which is aware of the impact of ongoing Middle East conflict on Canadian-Arab groups in Canada. By building such alliances, Canada can maintain ethnic harmony on the national level while pioneering an anti-terror program which analyses the root causes of ethnic tensions rather than implementing a post-facto band-aid solution which runs the risk of creating additional and more serious national conflict. On a positive note, Canadian government leaders should be commended for refusing to join in American unilateral actions against Arab regimes in the Middle East as such actions fuel the hate and resentment at the root of terrorism.

Implications for the Canadian-Arab Community

The Canadian-Arab community has a diverse and long history in Canada. As mentioned in the introduction to this study, immigrants from the Arab world have arrived in Canada since the late 1800s. Despite the community's history and contributions to Canada, many Canadian-Arabs feel excluded from Canadian society especially during periods of war. As the discussion on Fairclough's mediatized discourse illustrated, the media plays a key role in educating the public with regards to the nature of common sense especially during times of war and conflict where it is increasingly viewed as the voice of the government and military. For the vast majority of Canadians there is little time to analyze the truth in these media perspectives. Conversely, scores of Canadian-Arabs are increasingly exposed to media satellite which also contains much propaganda which further serves to inflame ethnic and religious sensitivities. This confirms Gidden's analysis in which identity is increasingly becoming understood through the lens of international events.

In light of the above discussion, and given a moral normative commitment to the study the findings have four main implications for the Canadian-Arab community. First, newcomers to Canada should, when possible, seek advice from other successful Canadian-Arabs who understand both the intricacies of Arab culture and who have attained some mastery of the Canadian system. This should be supplemented with assistance which may be obtained from ethnic and religious organizations.

Second, the Canadian-Arab community as a whole should become more self-critical. While Canadian-Arabs do have some genuine grievances in the way in which they are represented in the media, and the treatment afforded to them in educational and societal institutions these grievances will continue to go unnoticed without inner reflection on how Canadian-Arabs themselves may inadvertently contribute to their own demise. Aggressive behaviour on the part of Arab male youths within educational or employment spheres may only serve to reinforce the faulty stereotypes regarding Arabs and Muslims. Too often, Canadian-Arabs view themselves as victims and as a consequence expect the impossible from a majority culture which knows too little regarding Canadian-Arab religions, culture, and history. By drawing on the historical but similar challenges and successes of Japanese and Chinese Canadians, Canadian-Arabs may be able to more successfully encounter present-day challenges. Moreover, the Canadian-Arab community must encourage more of its youth especially those who are born and raised in Canada to represent the community in a manner to which members of the majority culture can relate.

Third, segments of the Canadian-Arab community such as religious Muslims may achieve more consonance by avoiding members of mainstream culture many of whom buy into the many prevalent myths regarding Islam and the Arab culture. While this may seem to be a solution in the short-term in achieving consonance, it may pose more complicated problems in the long term as isolation breeds more misunderstanding (especially during times of war and conflict) and allows for the festering of resentment on both the majority cultural side and the Islamic community side. Instead, by encouraging all members of the Canadian-Arab community to befriend and socialize with members of the majority culture it may be possible for members of the majority culture to put a human face to Arab cultures and religions. Additionally, such interaction would allow for the possibility of an open-dialogue in which members of the Canadian-Arab community can attempt to educate their friends or point them to alternative media and information sources on such things as the conflict in the Middle East.

Finally, the findings of this study illustrate the division within the Canadian-Arab community itself. Canadian-Arab Muslims held negative stereotypes regarding their Christian counterparts and vice versa. In order for the Canadian-Arab community to advance an educating role in society it must do so with one voice. This may be especially hard to do since each group may have experienced oppression by the other within the country of origin but in the long term, is necessary to put forth one agenda which will help serve and protect future generations of Canadian-Arabs.

Future Research Considerations

The findings and implications of this research have benefits for educational and government policy while also unearthing the voices of the Canadian-Arab community Throughout, this study has demonstrated how identity is influenced by individual psychological factors, social relationships, national policies, and international events. The study has therefore tied the individual micro level to the international macro level and illustrated how value reconciliation between two cultures can vary considerably within a single ethnic group. However, in an attempt to bring about understanding of the Arab culture and the Islamic and Eastern Orthodox religions to North Americans, I have found myself increasingly feeling frustrated at the divisions between Canadian-Arab Christians and Muslims on issues involving the Middle East. Questions regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict brought these divisions to the fore and also revealed the way in which religious/parental socialization influences worldviews. Although the study's findings reflect the parental experiences within Arab nations, they do not reflect what all Christians from the region think and similarly they do not reflect what all Muslims from the region think or believe either. In fact, the study's findings may have shown significant differences if the Christians from the study were of Palestinian and Lebanese origin and similarly if the Muslims from the study came from regions further away from the conflict then say Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq. This is important when considering the diversity of lived experiences in the Middle East. Moreover, the fact that this study could not include an examination of the Druze or Sephardic Jewish population also reveals its shortcomings and reveals the need for future research examining the identities of various ethnicities and religions of people from the region.

The study's findings have led me to inquire how Jewish youth socialization may parallel much of Canadian-Arab youth socialization in that both communities are inevitably affected by ongoing Middle East conflict. In fact, I am proposing next to examine Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jewish youth identity in much the same way as I did with Canadian-Arab youth for a post-doctoral fellowship. Many Jewish youth feel directly affected by stereotypes and media representations concerning the Middle East conflict and their religious beliefs. Additionally, I would like to inquire as to whether Sephardic youth relate to the media representations of the Jewish holocaust and how they feel being Arab and Jew but also examine Ashkenazi Jewish perceptions on the homeland and the conflict. It is anticipated that these findings will provide valuable information on the role of multiculturalism perceived by Arabs and Jews during periods of conflict in the Middle East as well as providing implications for policy in educational and society. The findings of such proposed research would be used in conjunction with the findings of this research study to further critique multicultural policies while illuminating the impact of the Arab-Israeli conflict on both Arab and Jewish Canadian communities. An invitation by Concordia University in Montreal of former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on September 9, 2002 led to protests and ensuing violence between Jewish and Arab students. Concordia University has

decided to investigate the actions of the twelve Arab students which furthermore demonstrate the urgent need for more effective policy making at all educational and government levels to prevent such tensions before they arise.

Concluding Remarks

Throughout the proposal planning, data collection and writing phases of this study, I have kept in mind the necessity of bringing to the reader the voices of the youths in this study. The discourse used by both groups reflected many real differences in the lived experiences of the youths in this study. Many of the participants' responses reveal the ugly side of prejudice and racist stereotypes regarding each group toward the other. For many months, I battled within myself on how to present these findings without hurting the sensitivities of the members on each side of the community. However, as a scholar, my responsibility was primarily to the lived experiences of these youths and not to an idealized version of how things should be. Similarly, the lived experiences of these Canadian-Arab youths in education and society reveal the ugly side of racism in Canada. The educational system has the potential to dispel some of the myths and stereotypes *all* students bring with them to the classroom. In fact it is one of the few forums which can effectively do so while creating in students the desire to contribute as citizens to this country. Unfortunately, the present state of Canadian education is one which reproduces hierarchy and intolerance. More can be done within the educational system to encourage all youths to learn about each other's cultures and religions and more can still be done to instil in all students a sense of responsibility and commitment to one's cultures. For Canadian-Arabs much of the information they receive regarding their Arab culture is extremely negative and serves to exclude them from Canadian society. In order to promote a view of Canada which is inclusive of all Canadians regardless of ethnicity it is important for policy makers to push for a transformation of multicultural policy to protect all Canadians including Canadian-Arabs. An educational system which places as one of its primary responsibilities the education of youth towards a friendlier and dynamic future free of racism and prejudicial values is needed. Unless this is done, the educational system will remain one in which intolerance and hate breed from education into society.

Appendix I

Interview Questions

First Interview Set with Canadian-Arab Youths

While growing up in Canada were you interested in taking Arabic courses? (At what age, where, why?)
When in the presence of various social groups (i.e. non-Muslim, non-Arab Canadians, Arab and Muslim Canadians, or mixed cultural backgrounds) how do you identify/represent yourself? How do your friends and parents represent themselves?
How many times, if any, have you travelled to your parents' country of origin can you tell me about your experiences there
Did you attend religious courses or classes at your local Church or Mosque? How did you feel about these experiences?
Does the way you identify/represent yourself change during time of political turmoil involving the Middle East? Have you ever hidden your identity during such situations?
Do you feel you understand your parents' perspectives on political, cultural and religious values?
Which conflict do you feel has created more difficulty for Canadian-Arabs the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the Gulf War? Why?
With regards to gender values such as honour and shame do you feel they play a role within the Canadian context? Why or why not?
Do you think the education you experienced was multicultural?
Did you ever encounter discrimination from educators based on your ethnicity

Second Interview Set (Youths asked to watch media clips on Israeli-Palestinian conflict from CNN and LBC)

How do you feel about the way Arab media presents events in the Middle East? How do you feel about the way mainstream media like CNN presents events in the Middle East?
Do you feel there is a difference between the way in which these two media sources represented Israeli-Palestinian conflict? How were they different?
Do you feel that all media source propagandize their respective points of view?
How do you feel about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? Do you understand it from an Arab perspective or a North American one?
With regards to the events of September 11, 2001 have you had access to Arab/Islamic perspectives on the events? If so do you understand these perspectives?
How would you explain the situation of women in Afghanistan under the Taliban regime? Do you understand it in relation to Arab gender values of honour and shame?

Interview Questions with Canadian-Arab Parents

What do you think are some of the challenges in raising your children in Canada?
How do you teach them about your religious and cultural backgrounds? (Ethno-religious communities, religious services, community cultural events, etc.)
Do you worry more about your daughters than sons in bringing your children up in Canada?
Do you ever contemplate returning to your nation of origin with your children? Why or why not?
Do you stay in touch with events ongoing in the Middle East via satellite or internet technologies?

Interview Questions with Canadian Arab Religious Leaders and Teachers

What do you feel are some of the challenges Canadian-Arab parents and youths encounter in living in Canada?
How does the Church or Mosque deal with the challenges youths face in society especially during times of international conflict?
How does the Church or Mosque act as a mediator between society and religious values?
What do you believe are the major stereotypes affecting Canadian-Arab Christians or Muslims in Canada?
Do you feel Christians and Muslim parents and their youths to be adversely affected by ongoing media coverage of wars involving the Middle East?

Appendix II

Consent Form for Interviews

Globalization and The Identities of Canadian-Arab Students in Multicultural Education

Researcher: Jenny Wannas-Jones PhD Student of Educational Policy at the University of The City, The City, The Province.

I understand that I am volunteering to participate in a study in which I will be asked to describe my thoughts, feelings and experiences as a Canadian-Arab student in the multicultural education system. I am willing to share my thoughts and experiences with the researcher. I understand my right to withdraw from the study at any time. I am also free not to answer any questions I do not wish to answer. I understand that I will be interviewed 2 or 3 times for about 60 minutes each time. I also understand I will also be shown a TV clip and asked to comment on Western and Arab news stories. The information from our talks will be used for research at the University of Alberta for Jenny Wannas-Jones' Doctoral thesis and related publications. The study has been explained to me and I have had the chance to ask any questions that were of concern to me.

By signing this form, I give my permission for the interviews to be used, if required, for secondary research, provided the project (s) is approved by the appropriate ethical review committees.

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Signature of Participant Signature of Researcher

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Signature of Witness Month Day Year

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